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LIFE

WILLIAM SANCROFT,

BISHOP OF CANTERBURY

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L I F E
OF
WILLIAM SANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.



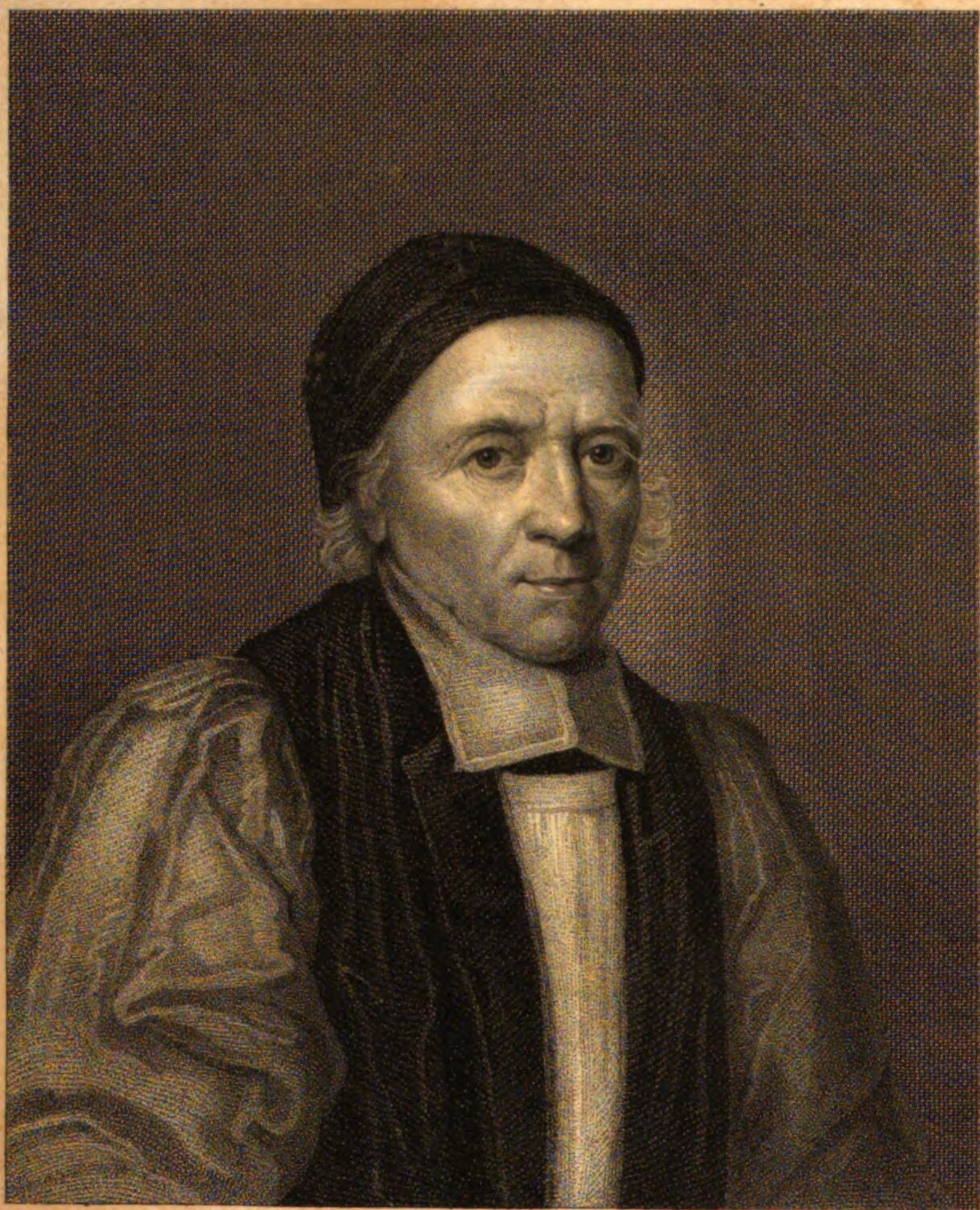
LIFE

OF

WILLIAM SANCRIFT,

ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

L O N D O N :
PRINTED BY C. ROWORTH, BELL YARD,
TEMPLE BAR.



*William Sancroft.
Archbishop of Canterbury.*

*Engraved by Henry Meyer from an Original Painting
by Suttell at Lambeth Palace.*

THE
L I F E
OF
WILLIAM SANCROFT,
ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

COMPILED PRINCIPALLY FROM ORIGINAL AND SCARCE DOCUMENTS.

WITH
AN APPENDIX,
CONTAINING
FUR PRÆDESTINATUS, MODERN POLICIES, AND THREE
SERMONS BY ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT.

ALSO,
A LIFE OF THE LEARNED HENRY WHARTON;
AND
TWO LETTERS OF DR. SANDERSON,
NOW FIRST PUBLISHED FROM THE ARCHIEPISCOPAL LIBRARY AT
LAMBETH PALACE.

BY
GEORGE D'OYLY, D.D. F.R.S.
DOMESTIC CHAPLAIN TO HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF
CANTERBURY; RECTOR OF LAMBETH, AND OF
SUNDRIDGE IN KENT.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:
JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE-STREET.
1821.

WILLIAM SANCROFT

DEPARTMENT OF CIVIL ENGINEERING

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München



TO

THE MOST REVEREND

CHARLES,

BY DIVINE PROVIDENCE,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY,

PRIMATE OF ALL ENGLAND, &c.

MY LORD,

IN presenting to your Grace this Narrative of the life of one of the most illustrious of your predecessors, to whose merits and public services the deserved tribute of praise has not hitherto been paid, I feel no common satisfaction in having an opportunity afforded me of publicly expressing my gratitude for the various obligations you have been pleased to confer upon me, and for the kindness and condescension with which you have uniformly

honoured me, during the time I have served you in the situation of domestic chaplain.

I refrain, because I feel that I ought, from bearing my humble testimony to the many virtues and talents, best known to those who have nearest access to your person, which enable you to fill so honourably and so usefully the high station to which you are called.

I have the honour to be,

My Lord,

With great respect,

Your Grace's most obedient Servant,

GEORGE D'OYLY.

Rectory-house, Lambeth,

Jan. 2, 1821.

PREFACE.

THE author has nothing to premise to the Life of Archbishop Sancroft, except to give a summary statement of the different sources from which he has collected the materials for it.

In addition to the Life of the Archbishop in the Biographia Britannica; the short accounts of him prefixed to his Three Sermons, and to his Familiar Letters; and those in Leneve's Lives of the Protestant Archbishops of Canterbury, and in Salmon's Lives of the English Bishops from the Restoration to the Revolution; he has thought it his duty to consult, with reference to the public parts of his life, the histories, memorials, and different pamphlets relating to the transactions of the times in which he lived. He has met with only two publications of any consideration,

which particularly refer to the Archbishop's private history ; viz. his Familiar Letters addressed to Mr. afterwards Sir Henry North (published in 1757); and " A Letter out of Suffolk to a Friend in London, giving some Account of the last Sickness and Death of Archbishop Sancroft" (published in 1694). These two tracts are scarce ; the latter is republished in the collection of Lord Somers.

Among the unpublished documents, of which the author has been enabled to avail himself, and from which the principal part of his materials has been drawn, he has to mention,

1. Those in the Lambeth MS. library ; consisting of some public letters addressed to the Archbishop, collections made by him, and a few juvenile performances. From these MSS. are published in the Appendix, by the special permission of his Grace the present Archbishop, the very curious Life of Henry Wharton, Archbishop Sancroft's chaplain, with the Letter of Dr. Cave relating to him (Appendix, No. I.); and the two original Letters of Dr. Sanderson (Appendix, No. V.)

2. Those in the British Museum. In the Harleian Collection there, (No. 3783—3785.) are three large volumes of letters, principally on private matters, addressed to Archbishop Sancroft at different periods of his life; from these, several of the facts and dates relating to his private history have been collected. Among the same MSS. are twelve volumes (Nos. 3786—3798) of Miscellaneous Collections made by him, with occasional marginal notes in his own hand-writing. Also, in Dr. Ayscough's Catalogue, among the papers left by Dr. Birch (Ayscough's Catalogue, 4223. 130.) are several documents relating to the private history of Archbishop Sancroft. Amongst others, we find there, in Dr. Birch's hand-writing, abstracts made with some care from the three volumes of letters above-mentioned in the Harleian Collection. From this fact it seems evident, that Dr. Birch was, at one time, preparing to write a Life of Archbishop Sancroft, and was, with this view, making a collection of materials. From the papers of the Reverend Thomas Baker, and from those of

Bishop Kennett, some incidental particulars have also been supplied.

3. Those in the Bodleian library at Oxford. The bulk of Archbishop Sancroft's papers, containing a very valuable mass of historical documents and materials, having been purchased by Bishop Tanner, were presented by him to that library. They contain, relating to the private history of the Archbishop, copies of many of his letters in his own hand-writing; several of his common-place books; his thoughts on different matters of public business; and details respecting some of the remarkable transactions in which he was engaged; particularly, a narrative of all that took place at the interviews of himself and the other prelates with King James, previous to their trial, and at the time of the Prince of Orange's invasion. Some of these papers have already been published in a detached form in the Appendix to the Letters and Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon; and *Miscellanea Curiosa*, by the Reverend Mr. Gutch.

In addition to these sources of informa-

tion, the author has collected some materials from the MSS. of the Rev^d. T. Baker, at Cambridge, from documents in Emanuel College, and from some private papers of the Sancroft family, in the possession of the Reverend J. Holmes, the present possessor of the property which belonged to the family.

He has to express his best acknowledgments to all those who had the above-mentioned papers in their possession, or under their charge, for the obliging kindness with which they afforded him every facility in inspecting them.

The plate for the engraving of Archbishop Sancroft, at the beginning of these volumes, was kindly presented for the use of this work by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

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He has to express his best acknowledgments to all those who had the laborious and tedious papers in their possession, or under their charge, for the obliging kindness with which they afforded him every facility in inspecting them.

The plate for the engraving of Archbishop Sumner, at the beginning of these volumes, was kindly presented for the use of this work by his Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury.

The author has to express his acknowledgments to the Rev. J. Baker, at Cambridge, for the materials which he has collected, and to the Rev. J. Baker, the present possessor of the property which belonged to the family, for the facility which he has afforded him in inspecting them.

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CONTENTS

OF

VOL. I.

CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS
FELLOWSHIP.

His Birth and Family—Education—Academical Degrees—
Election to a Fellowship at Emanuel College—Studies—
Firmness and Uprightness of Character—Refusal to take the
Oaths of the Covenant and the Engagement—Expulsion
from his Fellowship. page 1

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE TIME OF HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS FELLOW-
SHIP TO THE RESTORATION.

His Publication of the *Fur Prædestinatus* and Modern Policies
—Letters to and from his Friends—Residence in Holland
—Travels to the South of Europe—Return to England at the
Restoration. 64

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO HIS ELEVATION TO THE
SEE OF CANTERBURY.

He is appointed Chaplain to Bishop Cosin—Sermon on the first Consecration of Bishops after the Restoration—Assists in the Revision of the Liturgy—Rapid Advancement in the Church—Made Prebendary of Durham—Dean of York—Master of Emanuel—Dean of St. Paul's—Archdeacon of Canterbury—Takes an important part in forwarding the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral—Measures for the advantage of the Church—Unexpected elevation to the Primacy—Letter of Congratulation from the University of Cambridge. . . . 108

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF HIS ARCHBISHOPRIC TILL THE DEATH OF
CHARLES II.

State of the Church and Kingdom at the Period of his Elevation to the Primacy—Address to James Duke of York to convert him from Popery—General Attention to the Duties of his Station—Regulations about granting Testimonials—Letter respecting the Augmentation of small Vicarages—Restoration of Archbishop Parker's Monument—Suspension of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry—Letter to Dr. Covel, &c.—Attendance on Charles II. on his Death bed. 157

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND TO THE
DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE.

Address of the Bishops to King James on his Accession—his Coronation by Archbishop Sancroft—Articles for the Regulation of Ordinations and Institutions, &c.—King James's

- Endeavours to silence the Clergy—Ecclesiastical Commission
—the Archbishop's Refusal to sit in it—Reasons for this
Refusal and Effects of it—Letter to the King respecting
Preferments—Opposition as a Governor of the Charterhouse
to the Dispensing Power—Letters from and to Mary, Prin-
cess of Orange. 207

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE PERIOD OF ISSUING THE DECLARATION FOR
LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE TO THE CONCLUSION OF
THE TRIAL OF THE SEVEN BISHOPS.

- Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—Order for the Clergy
to read it—Active measures of the Archbishop respecting it
—Meetings of the Clergy at Lambeth Palace—Petition of the
Seven Bishops—Appearances before the King and Council
—Commitment to the Tower—Trial—Acquittal—Rejoicings
and Congratulations thereupon. 250

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

- Articles of Instruction from the Archbishop to the Clergy—
Scheme of Comprehension projected by him—Progress of
things towards the Revolution—King James sends for the
Archbishop and other Bishops—the Archbishop's Address of
Advice to him—Consequences of this Advice—Umbrage
given by these Interviews—Letter of Mr. Evelyn to the
Archbishop on the Subject. 317

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

- Interviews of the Archbishop and Bishops with King James
respecting their Invitation of the Prince of Orange, and

signing a Paper declaring their abhorrence of his Designs—
Their steady Refusal—Consequences of this Refusal—The
Archbishop not chargeable with inconsistency herein. 353

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

Address of the Peers to King James—His Answer—His ill
advised and vacillating Measures—His Flight—Meeting of
the Peers at Guildhall—their Declaration to the Prince of
Orange—Remarks upon it—Archbishop Sancroft vindicated
from the Charge of Inconsistency—His Election to the
Chancellorship of Cambridge—Refusal of it—Letters on the
Subject. 383

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE IN LONDON, TILL THE TIME OF ARCHBISHOP SANCROFT'S FINALLY RETIRING FROM THE SEE.

Refusal of the Archbishop to wait on the Prince of Orange, or
take any part in the public Measures—His views respecting
the settling of the Government—Appointment of King
William and Queen Mary to the Throne—Reflections on his
taking no part in the great public Transactions—His refusal
to take the new Oath—General regret at his Scruples—
Attempts of his Friends in his favour—His Suspension and
Deprivation—Appointment of a Successor—Retains Posses-
sion of Lambeth Palace till ejected by Law. 409

LIFE
OF
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CHAPTER I.

FROM HIS BIRTH TO HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS
FELLOWSHIP.

His Birth and Family—Education—Academical Degrees—Election to a Fellowship at Emanuel College—Studies—Firmness and Uprightness of Character—Refusal to take the Oaths of the Covenant and the Engagement—Expulsion from his Fellowship.

IT has generally happened to those who have risen from private stations to eminence of rank, that few particulars respecting the early periods of their life are preserved to posterity. Such has been peculiarly the case with Archbishop Sancroft, for the tracing of whose early history the materials are much less abundant than might have been expected, considering the natural partiality to his memory of his friends and admirers, and the respect universally borne to his character and virtues.

William Sancroft, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, was born at Fresingfield, in the county of Suffolk, January 30th, 161 $\frac{6}{7}$. He was the second son of Francis Sancroft, by his wife Margaret, daughter and co-heiress of Thomas Butcher or Boucher;* being one of a numerous family, consisting of two sons and six daughters.

The family of Sancroft was of considerable antiquity and respectability, having been settled at Fresingfield, and having possessed property there from the time of Henry III. or Edward I.† About that time, Adam le Ba-

* The name is variously spelt: it is Butcher in the parochial register of the marriage, as copied by the Archbishop's own hand; and Boucher in the pedigree now existing, written by the same hand.

† Henry Wharton, chaplain to Archbishop Sancroft, has made the following note respecting the Sancroft family:—
 “Familia de Sancroft sedem habuit apud Sancroft Stadbroke et Fresingfield, amplasque ibidem et in vicinia possessiones obtinuit, a tempore saltem Edwardi I Regis, quod constat ex plurimis instrumentis autenticis, quæ vidi penes W. S. A. C. (Willm. Sancroft, Archbp. Cant.) See Lambeth MSS. 577. There is now, in the possession of the descendants of the Sancroft family, the original grant of arms from the Herald's office to William Sancroft (afterwards the Archbishop) mentioned as Prebendary of Durham, and Dean of St. Paul's, dated January 26, 1663. The grant is to his elder brother Thomas and to himself, described as descended from a very ancient family of the same name, which had for many centuries flourished in

vent, son of Roger le Bavent, Knight, granted and confirmed to Henry, son of William Sancroft and Margery his wife, and the heirs of the said Henry, divers tenements of lands “in the parish of Fresingfield or in Stradbroom:” and, subsequently to this grant, the property had devolved in regular descent on persons of the name of Sancroft, who, as may be collected from the register books of the parish, had uniformly resided on it. The Archbishop appears to have been particularly curious and diligent in tracing out the different records relating to his family. There exists at present,* extracted with his own hand from the register books of the parish of Fresingfield, a list of the births, marriages, and deaths of all the members of the Sancroft family, beginning from the year 1539; also an account of the Charter of Adam le Bavent,† and the line of the family pedigree

those parts. Arms, “In campo argenteo super tignum rubeum tres columbas candidas inter tot cruces patentes, sanguinei itidem coloris.” Crest, “Super torque argenteâ et rubeâ serpentem viridem crucem sanguineam in ore suo gerentem.”

* In the possession of the Rev. Mr. Holmes, of Gawdy Hall, Suffolk, to whom the property of the Sancroft family has descended.

† The following is the account of the charter:—“The charter of Adam le Bavent, son of Roger le Bavent, Knight, whereby he gave, granted, and confirmed, to Henry, the son of William of Sandcroft and Margery his wife, and the heirs of

brought regularly down from the first possessors of the property;* and, together with these, a deed relating to property which belonged to the family in the time of Henry III.

The name of the family has been variously written, as was frequently the case with proper names, in times when little attention was paid to correctness of spelling. It is found Sandcraft, Sandcrafte, Sandcrofte, Sandcroft, and Sancroft.† The Archbishop himself, in the early

the said Henry, for their homages and services, and fourscore marks of silver which they paid, a certain messuage of his, together with his houses and buildings, in the parish of Fresingfield, in the hamlet of Chebendale, with all his lands and tenements, wheresoever lying, in the said parish of Fresingfield, or in Stradbrook, together with all feedings, commons, woods, plains, ways, paths, ingresses, egresses, homages, profits, wards, reliefs, together with all other things, which may in any-wise appertain to him and his heirs, on account of the said tenement, &c. and this he warrants against all persons, as well Jews as Christians, &c. This charter has no date, but it seems to be as old as the reign of Henry III.

* Respecting one of his ancestors, the Archbishop writes thus: "Robert Sandcroft, a younger brother of William, (a godly man) went with K. Henry VIII. to Bulloin; and, as he went, he was drowned; the gunns being negligently left, and in a rough sea falling all on one side, and so overturning the shipp."

† In a marginal note to the deed already mentioned, of the time of Henry III. the Archbishop remarks that "the name is here called de Sandcrofte;" that "in all the deeds of the messuage till after the 12th of Edward III. the family are called

[To face page 4, vol. i.]

Wife of Peter,
Adhaugh, Esq.
Hempsted, &c.

Wife of Peter Gooch, of
Hempsted's of Ilkeshall.

in

JOHN, a M
died in
Ind

DEBORAH, Wife of
George Borret, of
Stradbrook.

WILLIAM
(Archbishop

ES.

MARY.

MARGARET.

In the reign of Henry III.

William, Count of Poitou.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III. and before the death of his father, he was called Sanctus in the church.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III.

In the reign of Henry III. and before the death of his father, he was called Sanctus in the church.

John, a Merchant, died in the East Indies. William, Count of Poitou, died in 1097. William, Count of Poitou, died in 1097.

William, Count of Poitou, died in 1097. Thomas, Count of Poitou, died in 1097.

part of his life, wrote the name Sandcroft, but in the latter part, uniformly Sancroft, probably from having satisfied himself by inspecting the family records that this was the best authorized and the most correct.*

It is stated† that William Sancroft, the subject of this memoir, received his education at Bury, and that in his early years he afforded many proofs of his future greatness, in the de Sancroft, and, after that, Sancraft and Sandcroft: only Simon (32 Edward I.) writes de Sandcroft." In the extracts from the parish register books, made by the Archbishop, the name is written Sancroft from the year 1539 to 1553; from the latter period to 1646, always with the *d* in the first syllable, Sandcrafte, Sandcrofte, and Sandcroft: subsequently to the latter date, uniformly Sancroft, without the *d* inserted and without the final *e*. It is a curious proof of the looseness which prevailed in spelling this family name, that in the Harleian MS. in the British Museum (No. 3785.8) is a letter dated December 2, 1631, from Francis Sandcrofte "to my loving brother Mr. Dr. Sandcroft," (apparently from the father to the uncle of the Archbishop), in which the same writer spells the name differently in signing the letter and in the superscription of it. In the Harleian catalogue, the mode of spelling it Sandcroft has been adopted; but this must be deemed erroneous, as being opposed to the authority of the Archbishop, after he had inquired closely into the matter.

* The latest period at which I have observed the family name written Sandcroft by the Archbishop, is in a letter to his father, dated January 11, 1648. His father died very shortly after this, and then it probably was that he altered his mode of writing it by omitting the *d*.

† See Biographia Britannica.

piety which he exhibited, and the extraordinary advances which he made, exceeding the expectations of his instructors, in various branches of useful learning.

The following* is a copy of Latin verses, existing in his own hand-writing; composed by him evidently while a school-boy, and addressed to his father. The lines must be regarded with the indulgence due to a school-boy's composition, and are merely curious as exhibiting a specimen of the early compositions of one who afterwards attained such high distinction.—

CARMINA AD PATREM STRENULÆ VICE MISSA.

En jam præteriit nulli revocabilis annus,
 Et fausto bifrons omine Janus adest.
 Ac jam quisque suos streni donabit amicos,
 Et dare nunc omnes munera larga solent.
 Debeo me tibimet (genitor charissime) totum,
 Quas igitur strenas, munera quæve dabo?
 Ecce tuus partes dum sese vertit in omnes
 Natus, te dignum repperit hercle nihil.
 Tandem, constitui pingui crassâque Minervâ,
 Ut potui, tibimet carmina pauca dare.
 Hoc tandem potui, volui majora, sed ista
 Carmina (chare pater) consule, quæso, boni.
 Annus ut incipiat felici sydere presens,
 Vento ut procedat prosperiore tibi,
 Exitus utque hujus tibi sit lætissimus anni,
 Supplicibus votis oro precorque Deum.

* See Tann. MSS. in the Bodleian, No. 465.

Annus in assiduo qui circumvolvitur orbe,
Jam solitum solito fine peregit iter.
Sed non desistet solitum decurrere cursum,
Incipit exacto posteriore sequens.
Qui jam præteriit, non est reparabilis annus,
Nec revocare potes, quæ periire, dies.
Det Deus, ut tempus, quod jam tibi restat agendum,
Et pietate teras, officiisque piis.
Parteque sic meliore tui super astra volabis,
Corporis ut fuerint vincla soluta tui.
Filius tuus observantissimus
Gulielmus Sandcroftus.

When he arrived at the age of eighteen, he was sent to the University of Cambridge, as a member of Emanuel College. He was admitted on the matricula of the University, July 3d, 1634. His destination to Emanuel College was determined, no doubt, by the circumstance of his uncle, Dr. William Sancroft, being at that time Master of the college: he was deprived indeed of this relative and patron before he had passed through his academical course; still he must be deemed peculiarly fortunate in having commenced it under such superintendence, considering how important it is to a young man, at so critical a period of life, to be placed under the observation and controul of an elder friend, who may assist in directing his demeanour and his studies. His tutor was Mr. Ezekiel Wright, afterwards Rector of Thurcas-

ton, in Leicestershire. Towards this gentleman he appears in the later periods of his life to have borne peculiar respect. In a letter addressed to him after a lapse of some years, he expresses, in the following warm and glowing terms, his feelings of gratitude for the benefits he had derived from his instruction and counsels.

‘ It were ingratitude beyond all excuse, if I should forget what direction and encouragement I received from you in my studies, while your counsel was both card and compass to me in my course, and your favour the gale that filled my sails. God return into your bosom seven-fold the kindness which I have found from you; and may I be happy once in an opportunity to let you see how glad I would be to serve you.’*

Of the manner in which he prosecuted his studies in the course of his academical education, no particular record is preserved; only it is stated generally,† that, during this period, the accomplishments which he acquired in hu-

* See Tanner’s MSS. v. 61. p. 66. The letter is dated August 19th, without expressing the year; but, as it is placed in a volume relating chiefly to 1644, it was probably written in that year.

† See MS. Athenæ Cantabrigienses in the British Museum, by Morris Drake Morris, Esq.

man literature were very surprising; that he became an admirable critic in the various branches of classical learning; that his acquirements in poetry and history were considerable; and that he spent the greater part of his time in the study of theology.

He proceeded to the degree of Bachelor of Arts, in 1637. It is well known that, in the examinations for this degree at the University of Cambridge, proficiency in mathematical science and natural philosophy has always been the chief object of attention; and, as we perceive no traces of Mr. Sancroft's having directed his studies particularly in this line, we may thus account for his not having attained as distinguished a place in the list of honours of the year, as his superior talents and various attainments might have led us to expect. However, his name appears eleventh on the list, a situation which, if not sufficient to satisfy the most aspiring ambition, must at least be deemed one of very creditable eminence.*

* On consulting the register books for the order of seniority of Bachelors of Arts in 1637, I find that it stands as follows: Under the head, *Ordo Senioritatis Baccalaureorum*, Dom^s. Pooley Pembr. and nine below him in the column. Then another column, beginning Dom^s. Sancroft Eman., and seven others below him. The probable inference is, that the first column contains the Wranglers, and the second the Senior Optimes, of whom, if this be the case, Sancroft was the first.

It is always interesting and pleasing, in sketching a biographical memoir, to catch a glimpse at the more private scenes of life, where the shades of character are most clearly marked, and painted in their most genuine colours. Such a view of Mr. Sancroft's character at this early period of his life, happens to be preserved in two letters, the one addressed to a fellow collegian, Arthur Bownest, his intimate friend and companion; the other to his father, relating the decease of this youthful friend, and expressing his deep sorrow for his loss. These letters exhibit, in a very amiable point of view, the warmth of Mr. Sancroft's affections, the strength of his piety, and the chaste and correct tone of his feelings; and show that the qualities of his heart and understanding had already attained to a maturity of growth much beyond his years.

The following is part of his letter to his friend, then labouring under sickness.*

“ ARTHUR,

“ I received thy letter: I am sure I do thee no wrong in calling it so, for it is in my eye but half a syllable. I am sorry to hear thee

* See Tann. MSS. v. 67. 227. The letter has no date, but appears to have been written in 1638 or 9, being bound up with other letters of those years.

say, that thy distemper enforced thee to be short, but I hope thou wilt shake it off. It is in my conceit a good step to health that thou hast cast off thy fears; the disease will be the less able to hurt thee, if it finds not a party within. Fancy is a bad physician, and creates diseases instead of curing them. Send me word every week how thou art for thy health; I hope to hear good news of it. All that I can do is to pray the great physician, that he would be pleased to make the disease of thy body the physic of thy soul; and when it hath done the work it came for, to remove it, and restore thee to thy former strength. In the mean time I know my loss, and am sensible of it."

The letter to his father, announcing the death of this much-valued friend, is dated from Emanuel College, May 27, 1641.*

"DEAR FATHER,

"The sad news which I shall tell you, you know already, but give me leave to weep it over again into your bosom, and that will be some ease to mine. I have lost the companion of my studies, my friend by choice, my brother in affection: I shall sum up all if I tell you I have lost my dearest Arthur Bownest. One in

* See Tann. MSS. 66. 116.

whose acquaintance I promised myself, nay, found so much, as I never durst hope for, till I found it experimentally, and now despair ever to find the like. Besides those abilities natural and acquiste, wherewith God had enriched him; besides that virtuous disposition, and those many powerful attractives in his carriage, whereby he won the love and affection of all that knew him, one thing there was, which made him deservedly more dear to me than others, and that was his exceeding love to me, which I know to have been so great as few brothers equal, none exceed. I am distressed for thee, my brother Jonathan, very pleasant hast thou been unto me, thy love to me was wonderful, surpassing the love of women. Four days before he died I was with him; and when I had taken my leave of him, and was gone out of the chamber, he called for me again, and again bade me farewell in the Lord, and fixing a ghastly eye on me, and putting his bones about my neck, (for that was all which was left of his arms,) he prayed God to bless me, and told me he should never see me more in this world. I was at his burial, and helped to lay him in the bed of rest: and now there is nothing left for me to do, but to love his memory and imitate his virtues, which God give me grace to do. He was mortified to all worldly things

long before he died. Yet, father, I know he found not more difficulty to part with any thing than with me his unworthy friend; so dearly did he love me. I know he is now a glorious saint in heaven; and it is but self-love that makes me thus bewail his loss. Sleep on, blessed soul, upon the downy lap of eternity; thy name shall always be to me as an ointment poured forth; and, when I forget thee, let this be my punishment, to feel another as great a loss. If he might have had the making of his own will, I am sure I should have been heir of all: but his father would not suffer it. Yet thus far he prevailed, that no man should see a paper or note-book of his (whereof he had many) but I: and his reason was, he said, because I loved him, and would bear with any imperfection in them. His father bade me take what books I would. One I took and no more, as a remembrance of my dead friend. His mother hath since sent me, as a token, a bridle and saddle which he had made him a little before his death. O that good woman! she is the object of my pity; her life was bound up in the lad's life, and she will go down sorrowing into the grave. Sir, I am sorry to have benighted your thoughts with this sad narration, yet you see I cannot get out of it. When I have such a subject, it is easier to fill sheets than to confine myself to a page. I had nobody to whom I might better unlade my

heart, for it was swoln with grief; and yet there is one thing behind (which I will tell you when it shall please God to bring me again into your presence,) which is the sorrow of sorrows, the first-born of all my griefs."

His sorrow for the loss of this endeared friend seems to have long occupied his mind. Writing to his father nearly a year afterwards, (April 4, 1642,) he says, "I have lately obtained of my tutor the picture of my ever dearest friend, Sir* Bownest, now in bliss; so like him that every glance renews, as his dearest memory, to my own deserved sorrow. His converse was so sweet and so full of affection, that, methinks, an university life hath not been to me so desirable since I lost him as before. Pardon this impertinency; I must needs break forth sometimes on which I spend so many thoughts."†

Mr. Sancroft proceeded to the degree of M. A. in 1641. A short time previously, in a part of the letter just cited, we find him thus writing to his father:

"SIR,

"The commencement draws on apace: Sunday come five weeks is the day. I have

* This is the title formerly given to bachelors of arts, the translation of the Latin dominus.

† See Tan. MSS. v. 63. 3.

some interest in that solemnity, because I shall then receive the complement of my degree. If there be any contentment in this, 'tis reason you should have the flower of it, and therefore, according to the custom of the University, I doubt not but I shall see you here. I would desire you to send me word without fail by the carrier, whom you think fitting to bring with you, that you may not come unexpected, unprovided for; and to speak to them to come: and when I have heard from you, I will write to them and invite them in particular, if it be needful."

It is probable, from the course of his education, that he was from the first designed for holy orders. It is not to be ascertained at what precise time he entered on the ministry, nor by whose hands he was ordained; but a letter addressed by him to his father nearly fixes the period to the autumn of the year 1641. In this letter,* bearing date September 10th in that year, he expresses, in the following terms, his very serious feeling of the duties of the ministerial office, and of the deep responsibility which attached to it.

"I have lately offered up to God the first fruits of that calling which I intend, having common-placed twice in the chapel: and if, through your prayers and God's blessing on

* Tann. MSS. v. 66. 198.

my endeavours, I may become an instrument in any measure fitted to bear his name before his people, it shall be my joy and the crown of my rejoicing in the Lord. I am persuaded that for this end I was sent into the world; and therefore, if God lends me life and abilities, I shall be willing to spend myself and be spent upon the work."

To a person of his habits and pursuits, and with no other prospects of advancement in life than those which arose out of his own exertions, it must have been a very important object to attain a fellowship in his college; an object in which he appears to have succeeded towards the middle of the year 1642. It seems that the violent proceedings of the Commons paved the way for his more early election, by their declaring some fellowships vacant. He says, in a letter to his father, dated April 4, in that year,*

"There is an order lately come from the House of Commons for the admission of Mr. Worthington fellow of our college, and this afternoon it is expected he will be admitted. There is also another order for the pronouncing of the three senior fellows, who are superannuated, non socii presently, and choosing others into their rooms; but, because they stand by the king's dispensation, and the order is only from

* Tann. MSS. v. 63. 3.

the Commons, I think our master will hardly venture to pronounce them."

In a subsequent part of the same letter, he consults with his father in the following terms, respecting some trust property, the holding of which might interfere with his acceptance of a fellowship. The concluding part of the extract is very observable, as evincing at this early period that high tone of conscientious feeling, which afterwards proved so conspicuous a feature in his character, and influenced the greater turns of his fortune.

"One thing I must acquaint you with! When I was in the country, you know there was an overture of assigning some lands to yourself and me. Now, if it should please God to dispose of me (in) a fellowship in the college, (which it is yet doubtful,) you know our statute, that none can be fellow who hath £20 per annum. Now my quære is, whether this assignment, (though but in trust) especially if the trust be not mentioned in the instrument, will not invest me with such an estate in lands as will disable me from taking this preferment in the college. That nobody knows of it, I weigh not; for I desire more a thousand times to approve myself to God and my own conscience than to all the world beside. If it be not done, I pray, Sir, think of it before you do

it; if it be done, and you find it will touch upon the statute, let it be undone. I would not be too scrupulous, nor yet too bold with my conscience. If it be a needless scruple, I had rather show myself to have no law than no conscience: however, I permit it wholly to you, desiring you to inform yourself and do accordingly. It is a thought that came across my mind since I received your last letter, and I could not but acquaint you with it."

During his residence at the University, subsequently to his taking his degrees, he seems to have applied himself closely to the diligent cultivation of his talents, and to have taken a wide range through various branches of polite and useful literature. "I pray, Sir," he says, in writing to his father, in September 1641, "send me the winter gown faced with fur, which I wore sometimes when I was at home last: for I purpose, if it please God to bless me with health, to sit close at my study this winter, and not to stir any whither."

There happen to be still preserved, in the Lambeth MS. library,* four of his academical orations, made during his residence on his fellowship. One of these was delivered, probably in the senate-house, Nov. 5, 1642, in

* See Lambeth MSS. 595. 143. &c.

commemoration of the day;* another, bearing date in the year 1645, is stated to have been delivered on his commencing the office of Hebrew Professor; another, without a date, on his commencing that of Greek Professor. These orations are by no means destitute of merit, but are written for the most part in too meta-

* It may be proper to give, as matter of curiosity, some short specimens of these juvenile performances. That on the 5th of November begins—*Quod in ipso statim orationis vestibulo Romanis numinibus, Timori et Pallori impensè adeo operatus sum, ut nec vox nec lingua viam expediant, non est quod vehementius miretur aliquis. Nam si antiqui oratores, divini homines in dicendo, cum suas aut amicorum fortunas privatas in discrimine positas viderent, expalluerunt in principiis dicendi; quis tremor, quis horror, quæ cunctatio animi mihi oboriatur necesse est, de illo ingenti rei omnis publicæ discrimine dicturo hodie, quod nemo unquam paulo humanior nisi profundo stupore defixus cogitavit.*

Speaking of the Pope. *Incubus aliquis dæmon putidâ cum meretrice rem habens, monstrum hoc horrendum informe, fraterculum Gigantum, Ceo Enceladoque, et Typhæo germanum, progenit, prolem utique quæ utrumque parentem non obscuris indiciis referebat.*

There is much in similar style. It ends thus: *Deus O. M. rerum nostr^m stator, Magnam Brit^m sospitet, et majorem suâ Britannîâ Carolum, in hoc præsertim ferreo sæculo, atque impedito reipublicæ tempore, ut detersâ sub quâ luctatur importunâ nubeculâ, pulchrior aliquando exerat illustre caput; et cui tamdiu unicè studuit optimus principum, in priscum aurum refundat omnia; ut nos etiam debitâ huic diei lætitiâ, quam mancam hodie et dimidiatam cogimur exolvere, pleno tum jubilo et adulto gaudio, justoque triumpho exequamur.*

phorical and inflated a style, the bad taste of which should rather be laid to the charge of the age in which he wrote, than of himself. It does not appear from the records of the University that he ever held the public situation either of Hebrew or of Greek Professor. The offices, therefore, spoken of under these titles, must have been lectureships within the walls of his own college, with reference to which situations, the title of professor, which is now confined to public lecturers in the University, was formerly used.

Among other departments of literature which he cultivated during this period of his life, in addition to his severer studies, was poetry. We find, among his papers now preserved in the Bodleian, a number of poetical pieces of various descriptions, transcribed with his own hand. In particular, there is a commonplace book,* now imperfect, which appears from the index to have consisted of at least 300 pages, written in his small and very close hand-writing, filled with poems in Latin and English, partly serious and sacred, but partly of a lighter character, such as appear to have struck him in the course of his reading, and to have been deemed by him worthy of transcription.

* See Tann. MSS. No. 465.

Among these are several poems of Crashaw, mentioned in the index as “transcribed from his own copie before they were printed,” of Sir Henry Wotton, Dr. Corbet, and others then in vogue. Mr. T. Warton, in his edition of Milton’s poems,* mentions that, in this manuscript collection by Archbishop Sancroft, made when he was fellow of Emanuel College, are some poems of our celebrated John Milton; he specifies particularly Milton’s Ode on the Nativity, stated by Sancroft to be “selected from the 1st page of John Milton’s poems,” and his version of Ps. liii., noted as “done in the fifteenth year of his age.” Mr. Warton adds this interesting remark, that “perhaps this is the only instance on record of these poems having received the slightest mark of notice or attention during the first 70 years after they were published.” This remark is most creditable to the

* See Milton’s Poems, edited by T. Warton. London. 1785. Pref. iv. v. It is proper to state that, on referring to this portion of Tanner’s MSS. in the Bodleian (No. 465), consisting of papers tied together in a parcel, I do not now find among them any poems of Milton transcribed. But there can be no doubt of the correctness of Warton’s assertion. Probably these sheets, of the collection, after being in his hands, have been accidentally placed in some other parcel. The poems of Milton referred to were first edited in 1645; Mr. Warton says that Sancroft made these transcriptions from them in 1648; I have found no date to the papers.

taste and judgment of Sancroft, as showing that he had from the first the discernment to perceive the merit of pieces, which the world was very tardy in acknowledging, but which has since been sealed with the full stamp of general approbation.

At this period of his life, Mr. Sancroft, being a young man of superior talents and attainments, as well as most upright principles and conduct, appears to have recommended himself strongly to several friends, who took a warm interest in the advancement of his fortunes. Being born to no inheritance, and consequently depending on his profession for his future maintenance, he seems to have held himself open to the acceptance of any situation which gave a fair prospect of advantage in the employment of his talents. The two following letters, written by him to his father, mention offers that were made to him of engaging in the situation of private tutor: it does not appear that he eventually accepted either of these, or any other similar situations: but, from the terms in which he writes, it is manifest that he was not averse to such an engagement. They exhibit in a very amiable point of view the deference which he paid to his father's judgment, and his unwillingness to act without his counsel or approbation.

**From Mr. Sancroft to his Father.*

Cambridge, September 10th, 1641.

“ Within this fortnight, our master proffered me a place; he would have preferred me to live in an earl’s house, where I should have had £30 per annum, my diet in the great chamber, and a gelding to ride abroad on, upon occasion. My work should have been only to teach two of his children grammar; for there is a chaplain in the house already. I durst not accept the place, because I knew not your mind, and that was my answer to our master. However, I am infinitely obliged to him: for I had the first offer of it in the college. I pray, Sir, when you have occasion to write to Cambridge, express yourself fully what you would have me to do, if the like case be offered again; for, though such things happen but seldom, yet, if it should come to the same point again, I would do nothing without your direction.”

†From Mr. Sancroft to his Father.

(No date, but probably in the year 1645).

“ SIR,

“ I wrote to you by Rogers concerning a business of some moment. I doubt not

* The same letter as that before quoted, in which he spoke of his going into holy orders.

† See Tann. MSS, v. 60. 314. This letter is bound up with others relating to 1645.

you have received my letter, and I expect every hour an answer. But having heard now something more concerning it, I thought it my duty to impart it. Mr. Weller had before suggested the Doctor's loving and careful thoughts towards me, and given me some dark intimations of the nature of the place, which I now understand more fully by a letter from himself. 'Tis a rich merchant in London, a friend of his, that would send over his son beyond sea; and the Doctor has spoken to him not to dispose of the trust and care of him to any till I have expressed how I mean to dispose of myself. I like the person better than had he been what Mr. Weller mistook him for, noble. For then he would have looked for more respect and attendance, nor should I have had so much influence upon him for his good; briefly, I should then have been a servant, and not a master or at least a companion; there would have been much expected, and perhaps but little done, for generally those great ones prove unruly abroad. Nor do I despair of a less noble salary here, the London merchant's. I was this morning with my Lord of Exeter,* (who is now at

* This was Dr. Ralph Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, who, as will appear in the sequel, bore a particular friendship to Mr. Sancroft. He was originally a scholar and fellow of Pembroke Hall, afterwards master of Catherine Hall; made bishop of

Christ's College,) and acquainted him with it, who encourageth me to go on, and hath enjoined me to wait upon him in the country, and give him an account of my proceedings in it. I shall have his counsel and direction in the whole, and, which is more, his prayers; I have already a promise from him often reiterated, that, if it can be in his power to do me a kindness, he will not forget me. He hath enjoined me, before I go, to give him a copy of a common-place of mine, which he heard of, and of my speech at St. Marie's on the gunpowder treason day, of which he was an auditor. That I may be enabled to obey him in both, I pray, Sir, send me up by this bearer (enclosed in a letter) the latter of the two, which you will find in a bundle of my own composures in the fir box in my study. I am now writing to Dr. H. and, though I cannot give him an express answer, because I have not your explicit consent, without which I will do nothing, yet I shall so write as to make stay of the place till I hear fully from you, which I hope to do by

Exeter in 1642: deprived of his mastership in 1645, and afterwards, with the other prelates, of his bishopric. During the usurpation, he officiated as preacher of the Temple, where he died in 1659. His life is written by his successor, Dr. Gauden, prefixed to his sermons.—See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, and Kennett's *MS. Collections in the British Museum*, V. 1. 985.

Rogers; if not, I beseech you, let it be by Mr. Goodwyn, for delay may totally defeat me of this so happy opportunity. I hope to hear from London this week what the quality of the person is that would employ me; what he would willingly allow, for I must be enabled to live abroad something plentifully, or else stay at home; whither he would have his son go, for I will not venture into such a hot climate where my health is like to be endangered, much less where my religion will be a crime. When I am informed further, I will either send, or come to you myself, and acquaint you with all. In the mean time, that your leave and blessing may fully go along with me, I could fully propound many motives to induce you, which perhaps I may do in my next; but that it is enough to tell you that those two incomparable noble friends and patrons of mine are my authors and encouragers in it,—who are, I bless God, so tender and loving to me, that they would not entertain any notion that might sort to my prejudice. Sir, for the present, that which I have to beg of you (besides your consent to this proposition) is, that you will be pleased to wrap up all in the greatest secrecy that may be; for to discourse that I intend to travel would be the readiest way to hinder me from it.”

But, whatever may have been the temptation held out by offers of this description, he remained constantly resident on his fellowship, engaged in academical business, and in the diligent pursuit of his studies. About the year 1644, we trace him holding the office of bursar;* and, during the whole of his residence, he appears to have been engaged in the business of tuition. It will be seen in the sequel, that persons who had the benefit of his instructions, retained ever after the warmest sense of gratitude for his kindness and attention, and a strong feeling of the peculiar advantages they had derived from his counsels and directions.

But the times in which Mr. Sancroft rose into life were times of confusion and alarm, pregnant no less with calamity and mourning to the whole nation, than with severe trial to the feelings of individuals, and detriment to their worldly prospects. More especially, were they times of sore anguish and tribulation to those who, being the authorized ministers of the established church, were called upon by feelings of duty and of conscientious attachment to defend it against assailants; but whose unhappy lot it was to behold its sacred institutions profaned,

* See letters written by him, (Tann. MSS. v. 61. 66. and v. 57. 358.) which show that he held in 1644 the office of bursar, and subsequently that of public tutor in the college.

its fences rudely broken down, and the axe of desolation applied to its roots.

Mr. Sancroft, in a letter to his father* of April 4, 1642, had thus expressed his feelings on the subject of the troubles then breaking forth.

“ Things go very ill above: I know you cannot but hear more than is fitting for me to write; so I cannot but say, in the words of his Majesty in one of his messages, there is a judgment from heaven upon this land, if these things continue. In this case, prayers and tears are the best arms we can use, and I pray God we may stay there and take up no other.”

In the next year, 1643, the famous Covenant was entered into, between the kingdoms of England and Scotland, in which, while the pretence was held out of a design to defend the king's person and authority, together with the rights and privileges of parliament, and the liberties of the kingdom, the purpose of overturning the frame and constitution of the church by the extirpation of prelacy was openly avowed. This Covenant, first ratified in Scotland by commissioners sent from the English parliament, was, in the autumn of this year, forwarded to London, and immediately taken by the members of both houses of parliament. It was afterwards enforced in the city of London,

* Tanner's MSS. v. 63. 3.

and in different parts of the country, with greater or less degrees of rigour, according to the local influence possessed by the party which favoured it, and to many accidental circumstances. In the two universities, great numbers were about this time ejected from their fellowships, and from other offices of trust, both for refusing to bind themselves by this obligation and for various alleged offences. In the university of Cambridge, the parliamentary leader, the Earl of Manchester, made a visitation in the course of this year, and ejected sixty-five fellows from the different colleges for not returning to their usual place of residence on due summons, and for other misdemeanours.* The individuals alluded to had, no doubt, retired from the university for the purpose of avoiding the imposition of the unwelcome oath.

Among other persons ejected at this time was Dr. Holdsworth, the master of Emanuel College, who bore particular friendship to Mr. Sancroft, and who, as has already appeared, took considerable interest in promoting his success in life. He happened to be vice-chancellor when the troubles broke out, was seized by the parliament for licensing the king's books, and getting his declarations printed, expelled from

* See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, p. 112.

his mastership and other preferment, and thrown into prison.*

The following letter† was written to him by Mr. Sancroft, soon after that event. It is very characteristical of his style of writing; it describes in glowing terms the state of his feelings at the temper and the practices of the times, and shows his fixed determination never to yield his conscientious principles, by taking the obnoxious oath.

“MUCH HONOURED SIR,

AND STILL OUR WORTHY MASTER,

“I have formerly troubled you with my desires, and they met with acceptance from you. I hope I may now take leave to sigh out my griefs before you, and pour my sorrow into your bosom. You have not thought good, as yet, to give a check to my former impertinencies, and so I dare be confident, your goodness will be a sanctuary for this offence too,

* After four years imprisonment he was suffered to be at large. The king afterwards appointed him to the deanry of Worcester, but, from the continuance of the troubles, he was never installed. He died in the August following the king's death, of disease brought on by grief.—See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*.—Part ii. p. 80.

† See Tanner's MSS. 61. 267. The letter, though it bears no date, is bound up in a volume which refers to the year 1644.

which yet, if it must be called so, is no other than an offence of love, or if that be too bold a word, of deepest regard and respect to you. We live in an age in which to speak freely is dangerous, *imò nec gemere tuto licet*; faces are scanned, and looks are construed, and gestures are put upon the rack and made to confess something which may undo the actor; and, though the title be liberty, written in foot and half-foot letters upon the front, yet within there is nothing but perfect slavery, worse than Russian. Woe worth a heart then oppressed with grief in such a conjuncture of time as this. Fears and complaints, you know, are the only kindly and gentle evaporations of burthened spirits, and if we must be bereaved of this sad comfort too, what else is left us but either to whisper our griefs to one another in secret, or else to sit down and sink under the burthen of them. I do not *para-tragædiare*; nor is my grief so ambitious as to raise *fluctum* in *scrupulo*. You know, I dare say, what it is that must needs make me cry out, since it touched me in the tenderest part of my soul. We live in times that have, of late, been fatal in abating of heads: proud Tarquin's riddle is now fully understood; we know too well what it is *summa papaverum capita demere*. But I had not thought they would have beheaded whole colleges at a blow;

nay, whole universities and whole churches too; they have outdone their pattern in that, and 'tis an experiment in the mastery of cruelty far beyond Caligula's wish. Ah! Sir, I know our Emanuel College is now an object of pity and commiseration; they have left us like John Baptist's trunk when his head was lopped off, because of a vow or oath (or covenant if you will) that went before, or like Pompey's carcase upon the shore; so stat magni nominis umbra.—For my part, tædet me vivere hanc mortem—a small matter would prevail with me to take up the resolution to go forth any whither where I might not hear nec nomen nec facta Pelopidarum. Nor need we voluntarily give up our stations; I fear we cannot long maintain them. And what then? shall I lift up my hand? I will cut it off first. Shall I subscribe my name? I will forget it as soon. I can at least look up through this mist and see the hand of my God holding the scourge that lashes, and with this thought I am able to silence all the mutinies of boisterous passions, and to charm them into a perfect calm. Sir, you will pardon this disjointed piece, it is the production of a disquieted mind, and no wonder if the child resembles its parent; my sorrow, as yet, breaks forth only in abrupt sighs and broken sobs."

By what peculiar fortune Mr. Sancroft escaped at this time the storm which lighted upon so many, cannot now be ascertained. We have seen with what indignation he expressed his resolution not to take the Covenant, and it is certain that he did not take it. The most probable conjecture is, that his talents and excellent qualities recommended him to favourable consideration with the leading persons of the opposite party, and induced them to overlook him.

Soon after this period, in the prosecution of the work of destroying the Church, the use of its Liturgy was prohibited,* and the Directory substituted in its place. Here was a further difficulty thrown in the way of conscientious ministers of the church, who were required by their oaths to conform to the Liturgy, and who could not allow the validity of that authority which now pretended to abrogate the use of it. Mr. Sancroft, being a fellow resident in his college, and having no duty to perform beyond its walls,

* The Assembly of Divines presented the Directory to the Commons towards the end of the year 1644; and in the beginning of 1645 it was adopted by them, and an ordinance passed for its general use. In the following August, on a petition from the Assembly of Divines, a fresh ordinance was made for enforcing it, and an order given that all Common Prayer Books should be brought in to the Committees.—See Kennett's History of England.

was not called upon to betray his non-compliance with the parliamentary ordinance, in the same public manner as those of the clergy who officiated in the churches. But still, in a question of this nature and importance, it was impossible that he should not make up his mind as to the part which it became him to take. Indeed, it appears that the statutes of his college called upon him occasionally to officiate in the chapel; and we can well understand, that the same feeling which would make him unwilling, as a minister of the church, to discontinue the Liturgy, would prevent his attendance at the service when it was discontinued.

The following excellent letter on this subject was written by him to an intimate friend, who evidently seems to have betrayed more suppleness in yielding to the temper of the times than suited Mr. Sancroft's feelings. It may be collected from the terms of the letter, that Mr. Sancroft having requested his friend's opinion respecting the line of conduct to be pursued, that friend had suggested many prudential reasons for compliance with the injunctions of the prevailing authorities, and had endeavoured to calm the warmth of Mr. Sancroft's feelings on the distracted state of the times. In this answer Mr. Sancroft, in a very forcible and spirited style, combats the arguments which had been

suggested to him, and shows his own firm resolution to maintain his conscientious principles. He rallies his friend on his tendency to change, in a manner which exhibits, in a favourable point of view, his talent for dry, but good-humoured irony.

*William Sancroft to Mr. Richard Weller.**

Dated Emanuel College, May 26, 1645.

“To begin with your first caution; assure yourself, sweet Sir, the epidemical distempers of the age do not (too much) possess my mind, nor do I lay them to heart, so as to endanger my constitution, weak though it be. But yet I must acknowledge I do not, I cannot, look upon this bleeding kingdom, this dying church, with the same indifference as I would read the history of Japan, or hear the affairs of China related. I cannot consider a scattered and broken university with as reposed a spirit, as I would behold a tragedy presented on a stage, or view some sad picture in a gallery. I thank my God, who hath given me so tranquil and calm a spirit, as I do neither fret impatiently, nor cowardly despair. But yet I know full well that ’twere a grand mistake to practise a dull inapprehensiveness, instead of a generous patience. A stoical stupidity is far enough re-

* Tann. MSS. 60. 148

moved from an heroic constancy; and that sour sect, who sought to bereave us of the one half of ourselves, and to free us, shall I say, or rob us, of our passions and affections, are so far from making a wise man or a Christian, that they have only raised a statue. To say no more, Sir, your spur was here more needful than your bridle; and, perhaps, a friendly jog to awaken me to a greater degree of solicitude had been more seasonable, than your dose of opium to charm my sorrows and lullaby my cares, which I fear will rather be found on this side the due proportion than beyond it. I am all thankfulness for your loving care and pains in answering my query; and do but still vouchsafe to continue this your affectionate readiness, and your counsel shall always be my better directory. You are pleased to slice my doubt into a double scruple. Whether I may lay aside the one, whether I may take up the other? For the first, your maxim is, that no law obligeth to a positive obedience where the legislative power doth not protect. I think you and I shall hardly be two in this particular. Nor do I count myself obliged to go to chapel and read common prayer till my brains be dashed out. But yet, if laws are binding no longer than till inconveniencies accrue to the observer, I am at this present time free from the

tie of all the laws of England, and may do whatever is good in mine own eyes: because they, in whom the legislative power is seated, being split into two opposite factions, there is no security left; for whom one side protects the other threatens. And if the endangering of estate or liberty to be taken away by violence of a prevailing party be sufficient to absolve us from our obedience, what are your thoughts of those, whose memories are now so precious, who stood up resolutely against ship-money and illegal taxes, and for not paying perhaps £20 endangered their whole inheritance. Or, to look into that other sphere of the church, of those who, in the days of innovation and illegal encroachments, kept close to canon and rubric, maugre all the suspensions and deprivations in the diocese.

“ But for the second, your conclusion is, that I may cheerfully, nay that I am tied, to conform to the new model. And why I pray? 1. Because I am bound to do my ultimum quod sit for the glory of God. 2. Because I am bound, by my place, to read the Scriptures and pray. First for your conclusion, then for your arguments. And truly that cheerfulness in complying which you seem to require of me is much abated by these considerations, which, to my weakness, appear to carry some weight in them:

1. Because to comply would be a tacit consent to that extravagant power which the two Houses now first challenge (having before disclaimed it,) of repealing acts of parliament by ordinance, which opens a wide gap to all manner of arbitrariness: for, if they may in some cases annul laws, and they themselves be the judges of those cases, we are not sure that one law shall stand. And yet that protestation which both you and I took, binds us, with our power and estate, nay, with our lives, to maintain and defend the lawful rights and liberties of the subject; the chiefest part of whose birthright it is, as I apprehend it, to be free from illegal impositions. But 2dly, to comply, would be to throw a foul aspersion on the whole church of God in England, since the Reformation; as if the public worship of God here used, which, for aught I know, was the most complete piece which any church upon earth had, were unlawful and anti-christian, or, at least, in the highest degree inconvenient. For such language the Preface to your Directory speaks, and thereupon infers an absolute necessity of removing it. Now thus to cast up dirt in my mother's face, and kick out her Liturgy as an abominable thing, which hath so long been made good against all the noise and clamour of weak opposites, is an exploit, I confess, which I cannot

look upon with any such complacence, as to undertake it with an extraordinary measure of cheerfulness or alacrity. And, 3dly, to comply would be to set to my seal that the Houses have power to reform religion without the supreme magistrate; that their journeymen of the synod are lawfully convened: the truth of which, I confess, I cannot so clearly see, no not with the help of a synodical pair of spectacles. And, while my apprehensions are thus planted, be you judge how much it would be for the glory of God, for me thus to run counter to the dictates of my conscience, which is God's voice in my soul, and to me as binding. I am bound, 'tis true, by the statute, shall I say, or rather the custom of the college, to read prayers in my course; but I am bound by a higher law of the kingdom, and under greater penalties, to use no form of public worship but that established. If I be wanting to my duty in this, I am confident they will answer it who lay the restraint upon me. You mightily applaud that piece of freedom, that I must make my prayer myself, but yet, you know, they bind me in their materials: and shall I pray for your synod and armies, or give thanks for your Covenant? Truly, Sir, I am not yet satisfied, and therefore long impatiently to see you, for I hope your

charitable desire of informing me still continues. What remains, I will reserve till then, because I cannot but reflect upon my rudeness already committed in this talkative paper.

“ At the close you interpose a word or two concerning your mutability. Good Sir, do not phrase it so. When I wrote that passage which you aim at, I intended only to convict fame of a lie; to let you know there is more brass in her forehead than in her trumpet; and to applaud the poetical fiction in the choice of her sex, because I find her such a babbler and busy-body. I know that Mr. Weller’s principles are so well and so deeply grounded, so strongly fortified, that all the logic at Westminster cannot alter them; and that it should be done before, I see no likelihood. *Cælum non animum mutant.* Sir, I look upon an opinion once entertained by you, as Hull or Gloucester, or if there be a more impregnable castle. I know you can stand out against all opposition; you know well how to ward the blows both of the right hand and the left. You slight the proffers of advantage that would woo you to give up, as much as you scorn the danger, and sit above all apprehensions of it. I know you’ll dispute every inch before you quit it; being underneath *τετραγωνος*, like a die, however you be thrown

down, you cannot lose your squareness, for you still fall upon a sure basis. So that, should any one tell me he saw you take the Covenant, I should be bold, if civility gave me leave, to give him the lie. Nay, should I myself see you lift up your hand and subscribe your name, I would strait turn sceptic and conclude my eyes deceived me. However, in despite of all mutabilities, I shall ever be, most unchangeably,

“Your faithful friend and servant,
“W. S.”

Mr. Sancroft appears to have continued, principally if not entirely, resident on his fellowship, employed in the business of tuition, till the purposes of rebellion were consummated, in the total overthrow of the kingly government, and the murder of the king. The two letters which follow, addressed to his father from Cambridge, were written, the one in the near prospect of that event, the other immediately after it had taken place. It is pleasing to observe him ever calming and subduing his acute feelings of sorrow for the prevalence of public crime and distraction, by recollecting the supreme duty of bowing with humility and resignation to the dispensations of a righteous Providence.

*From William Sancroft to his Father.**

January 11, 1648.

“ Things grow worse and worse every day; and there is nothing left for the king and his party, in this world, but the glory of suffering well and in a good cause, which I hope nor devils nor men will be able to deprive them of. For my part, if once I see the fatal blow struck, I shall think of nothing but trussing up all and packing away, and nothing but your command shall stay me long in a nation which, I am persuaded, will sink to the centre, if it suffers so horrid a wickedness without chastisement. In the mean time, we must observe and adore the mysteries and wonders of Providence in all these traverses. You see the army could never ruin the king till they nulled the Lords and enslaved the Commons, and so ruined the parliament that lent the first hand to the setting of them up and pulling down the king. And what shall we say if William Prynne,† who was the

* Tann. MSS. 57. 473.

† The celebrated William Prynne was at this time one of the members excluded from the House of Commons. He published Jan. 1, 1648, “ A brief Memento to the present unparliamentary Junto, touching their intentions and proceedings to depose and execute Charles Stewart, their lawful king of England.” He was in consequence committed to custody by the Commons for denying their authority.—See Neale’s Hist. of Puritans, v. iii. 532, and Whitelock’s Memorials, p. 362.

first incendiary, and sowed the first seeds of sedition, suffer at last in the king's quarrel. You will see by the papers I send you he is engaged: and you neither know him and his pertinacy if you think he will retreat, nor his adversaries and their fury if you think they will spare."

*From William Sancroft to his Father.**

February 10, 1648.

"What all men sadly presaged, when I wrote my last, all good men now inconsolably lament. The black act is done, which all the world wonders at, and which an age cannot expiate. The waters of the ocean we swim in cannot wash out the spots of that blood, than which never any was shed with greater guilt since the son of God poured out his. And now we have nothing left but to importune the God to whom vengeance belongs, that he would show forth himself, and speedily account with these prodigious monsters, or else hasten his coming to judgment, and so put an end to these enormous crimes, which no words yet in use can reach, or thought conceive without horror and amazement. I send you no papers, nor can I delight to look in any, since I read the

* Tann. MSS. 57. 499.

saddest that ever England saw ; those I mean that related the martyrdom of the best Protestant in these kingdoms, and incomparably the best king upon earth, Charles the pious and the glorious, with whom fell the church and the kingdom, religion and learning, and the rewards of both, and all the piety and honesty of the nation could hope for, in this world. And, now, the breath of our nostrils being taken away, we only draw in so much as we render again in sighs, and wish apace for the time when God shall call for it all. When we meet, 'tis but to consult to what foreign plantation we shall fly, where we may enjoy any liberty of our conscience, or lay down a weary head with the least repose, for the church here will never rise again though the kingdom should. The universities we give up for lost ; and the story you have in the country of Cromwell's coming amongst us will not be long a fable ; and now 'tis grown treason (which in St. Paul's time was duty,) to pray for kings and all that are in authority ; the doors of the church we frequented will be shut up, and conscientious men will refuse to preach, where they cannot, without danger of a pistol, do what is more necessary, pray according to their duty. For my part, I have given over all thoughts of that exercise in public, till I may, with safety, pour out my

vows for Charles II., the heir, I hope, of his father's virtues, as well as kingdoms. In the mean time there are caves and dens of the earth, and upper rooms and secret chambers, for a church in persecution to flee to, and there shall be our refuge. I long exceedingly, Sir, to wait upon you that I may safely communicate my thoughts to you, nor shall I adventure any more of this nature till I see you. In the mean time, with my humble duty to yourself and my good mother, with my hearty love to all my brothers, sisters and friends, beseeching God to comfort you in all your public and private sorrows, I humbly take leave, and subscribe myself,

“ Sir,

“ Your obedient son,

“ W. S.”

Such were the expressions of passionate sorrow in which he poured forth his feelings on this mournful occasion. He appears to have seriously intended no longer to remain a witness of this disastrous state of things, and immediately to quit the country; but he was soon roused by a domestic sorrow from the exclusive consideration of the public calamities. His father, towards whom he was animated by the warmest affection, and to whose

counsels he constantly turned for the guidance of his conduct, died a very few days after the date of the last letter. He thus announces the event, and expresses his feelings respecting it, to Mr. Holdsworth, one of the fellows of the same college with himself.*

February 20th, 1648.

“ DEAR MR. HOLDSWORTH,

“ What I feared is come to pass. It hath pleased God to take away from us my dear father, the sole prop of this now ruined family. His tender sense and apprehension of the public calamities, together with the burthen of 68 years, and a violent fever, with which it pleased God to visit him, have ended the life in which all ours were bound up. On Sunday night, about ten of the clock, he went hence; yesternight, at eight, I made hard shift to get hither, where I found a sad family, and mingled up my tears with theirs. Good friend, let me have thy prayers to assist me in this saddest loss that ever I sustained for this world. When I see thee, I shall give thee the particular aggravations of my sorrow. I shall haste out of this sad place, as soon as the duty I owe to the comfort of the widow and orphans, and some care I must share in gathering up the

* See Tann. MSS. v. 57. 506.

broken pieces of this shattered family, shall be over; haply, both may yet exact a fortnight. In the mean time, I prithee, redouble thy care for my pupils, especially for the sick.—I pray be vigilant at Mr. Ireland's to watch when the king's devotions* come down; he hath promised me six; I pray pay for them and preserve them for me."

* By "the King's Devotions," he alludes to the book published very shortly after the martyrdom of the king, under the title of *Εικων Βασιλικη*, purporting to contain his devotions during the last periods of his sufferings, committed to paper with his own hand. Doubts exist respecting the authenticity of the work; but it was bought up at the time with incredible avidity, from the enthusiastic and devoted attachment to his memory which prevailed, quickened by the recent sense of the indignities he had suffered, and by compassion for his fate, so disproportioned to the worst crimes that his enemies had charged upon him. It is said that no less than 50 editions of it were sold off (in different languages) within 12 months after the king's death.—Writing to another friend, Mr. Sancroft thus expresses his great eagerness to procure without delay a copy of the work: "If any of the king's books (*Εικων Βασιλικη*, I mean) be to be procured, or already in your hands, send me one by this messenger."—(Tann. MSS. lvii. 512.) In answer to his enquiry Mr. Holdsworth says, "The king's books are so excessive dear, that I believe you would not have so many of them at their prices; they will be above 5*s.*; they are sold for 6*s.* 6*d.* in London."—(Tann. MSS. lvii. 513.)

The *Εικων Βασιλικη*, it is commonly supposed, was written by Dr. Gauden. It was answered in 1652, by the celebrated John Milton, in a work called *Εικονοκλαστης*.

The hurry and fatigue of body and mind which this event occasioned, injured his health, which appears never to have been robust.— Writing to a friend he says—“ Either with my journey hither, or with following my father’s hearse, and sitting long in the church, I have gotten such a cold and cough as is for the present very troublesome, and may without God’s mercy prove dangerous. He fits us for all the events and issues of his Providence.”

He probably returned to Cambridge, at as early a period as circumstances admitted, after paying the last duties to his father. But he was not long destined to remain in the possession of his situation there. A still more odious oath than the Covenant, was soon framed by the prevailing party; to escape the imposition of this, he appears to have retired for some time from the University, and, at last, from his firm determination not to take it, suffered ejectment from his fellowship. The oath alluded to, was known by the name of the Engagement, by which all persons were required to bind themselves to be true and faithful to the government then established, without king or house of peers: and those who refused were declared incapable of holding any office in church or state. This oath was pressed with as much diligence and activity as circumstances ad-

mitted; but, from the want of power rather than of zeal in those who promoted it, it was not immediately enforced in all parts of the kingdom.

In the November of this year, the following letter* from Cambridge was addressed to him, then absent from the University, by Henry Paman,† one of his former pupils, who seems

* See Baker's MSS. at Cambridge, v. xxxiv. 123.

† Henry Paman was a person between whom and Archbishop Sancroft a close intimacy subsisted during life. He was admitted at Emanuel College, Cambridge, in June 1643, under the tutorship of Mr. Sancroft. In 1646, he removed to St. John's College, thence took his degrees, and was elected a fellow. In 1658, he was created doctor of physic. Between this period and 1666, he appears to have resided chiefly in different parts of the continent. In October, 1659, we find him at Utrecht. (Harl. MSS. 3784, 192.) On May 9th, 1666, he thus writes to Mr. Sancroft from St. John's College: "After a sufficient time of wandering, I am once again set down quietly at my cell, where, after my thanks to heaven, nothing could sooner possess me, than the sense of my obligations to you."—(Harl. MSS. 3784. 197.) In 1674, he was elected public orator at Cambridge. On the promotion of his former tutor to the see of Canterbury, he came to reside with him at Lambeth Palace, as his friend and companion. In 1679 he was chosen Professor of Physic at Gresham College. In 1684, he took the degree of Doctor of Laws, and was appointed Master of the Faculties by the Archbishop. On the Archbishop's quitting Lambeth, he resigned the Mastership of the Faculties, and resided in London. He died in 1695, about two years after the Archbishop. He is described to have been a man of fine parts and a great master

to despair of exhibiting in his own conduct the same firmness which he anticipated in that of his tutor. The former occasion, to which he alludes, on which he had acted contrary to the dictates of his conscience, was probably that of taking the Covenant.

St. John's, Nov. 23d, 1649.

“ HONOURED TUTOR,

“ I am ashamed that all the while I was under your tuition, I learned not that which I find would have been chiefly useful to me, thankfulness for all your favours. I know not how to report the condition of things here; only I think they are as you left them. The subscription is every day expected. I dare not say what I will do, nor ask the counsel of my best friends, what I ought to do. For I confess I have slighted my own and their counsel. I had a counsellor within, that showed me the error of the way I was going. I thought I might have trusted my resolution and constancy

of polite literature. His letters, some of which are here produced, show him to have possessed much of the same talent which the Archbishop possessed, of observing upon passing events, and the characters of men, with peculiar point and shrewdness. See Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors. There is a series of his letters to Sancroft preserved in the Harleian MSS. at the British Museum. See v. 3784. 179—197.

so far that nothing from without should have moved it. People here, I think, are not willing to acquaint themselves what they mean to do, before that minute when they shall have no more time to consider. There goes a report here, that the subscription was offered to Dr. Horton, who promised readily that he would be true and faithful to them; which he could not be any more than by telling them of their bloodshed and perjury, which he resolved to do to his utmost, the next time he had occasion to speak to any of them from the pulpit. I think this story is not like to be true.

“ I am, Sir, your very real servant,

“ HENRY PAMAN.”

The Engagement not having been enforced during the year 1649 with sufficient strictness to satisfy the party which enacted it, a fresh ordinance for pressing it was made January 2, 1649; and, with regard to the Universities, it was, in the following June, referred to a Committee for regulating them, to examine what masters and fellows, in each of them, neglected or refused to take the oath; at the same time, power was given to remove all refusers and to place others in their room.

Two letters to Mr. Sancroft, written in March of this year from his friends at Cambridge,

attest the warm interest they took in his affairs, and their anxiety on his account.

From John Davenport to Wm. Sancroft.*

Emanuel, March 6th, 1650.

“ SIR,

“ The reason why I have not writ before this, was partly because you have been duly expected, partly lest instead of doing a friendly office, I might do you a discourtesie by timely informing you of a summons which demands the appearance of all non-engagers; for then I thought you would not so well pretend ignorance, which perhaps might do you some good. The carrier tells me that you are not well; I heartily wish your recovery, and in the mean time have acquainted Dr. Tuckney† and the fellows with the same, who have in-

* There were two persons of this name, members of Emanuel College, and intimate friends of Mr. Sancroft, John and George Davenport. A great number of private letters from each, addressed to Mr. Sancroft, are preserved in the Harleian Collection in the British Museum, chiefly relating to commonplace matters.—(See Harleian MSS. 3783. 111. 171.) From a subsequent letter of Mr. Sancroft (p. 56.) it appears that he complains of one of the Mr. Davenports as having deceived them and consented to take the Engagement, after first stoutly denying. John Davenport was elected a Fellow of Emanuel College in 1649.

† Dr. Tuckney was the Master of Emanuel College appointed

serted it in a letter written to Mr. Adoniram Bifeld in your behalf, where they give you most ample recommendations, and express how greatly they desire, if possible, that you may be continued. One Mr. Bramford, late of our college, is to succeed in case you be turned out. *Speramus meliora*. They say Mr. Bifeld bestirs himself very much in your behalf. Nothing as yet is concluded. What this day, which is Thursday, may bring forth, you shall know, God willing, by the next, if we see you not, which I much desire, before that time. It is your course to preach at St. Mary's the next Sunday after this; but, as the case stands, you need not trouble yourself nor any of your friends in that business; for you will not be expected. I have been almost dead of a cold since your departure, but now, thanks be to God, well recovered, and therefore the better

by the parliamentary Commissioners, when they ejected Dr. Holdsworth, in 1645. In 1653, he was transferred to the Mastership of St. John's, and was afterwards made Regius Professor of Divinity. After the Restoration, he was obliged to quit his preferments, but an annuity of £100 per ann. was assigned to him from the professorship. He was a commissioner at the Savoy conference on the non-conformist side. He died in 1669.—See an account of him by Dr. Salter in the preface to Whichcote's Aphorisms.

able to serve you in whatever you shall demand.

“ Your real, constant, and faithful

“ friend and servant,

“ JOHN DAVENPORT.”

*From H. Paman to William Sancroft.**

Dated St. John's, March 23d, 1650.

“ The news from London says your business is heated, and you are given to us now upon a surer foundation than we could possibly hope to enjoy you; for, when your fellowship was asked, the petitioners were answered, that they might as well think to remove a mountain as Mr. Sancroft. I am sorry for nothing in this turn of the scale, but that this news will not be so welcome to you as to us here. But pray, Sir, be not unwilling to come among us again, though we be not worthy of you. It is given out by many, that you have subscribed, that it might the more powerfully prevent all malicious requests to take you from us.—I hope to hear nothing by the carrier but that you will be here before his return: there was much sorrow for your sickness at Bansfield.”

In the course of this year, he returned to his

* Tann. MSS. 57. 233.

residence in his college, to await the event of things, and was still preserved in his fellowship, contrary to his own expectations, and in a manner which excited his surprise. Towards the close of the year, we find him writing to his brother, and giving the following account of the aspect of his affairs.

*From Wm. Sancroft to his Brother.**

November 17th, 1650.

“ ’Tis too long that I have intermitted this commerce of love and affection, and more than time that I resume it. The last time I wrote not, for I thought you must needs be weary of reading so often, what I was tired with writing, that I was not yet ejected, but looked not to stay long. Yet now I must return to the old repetition, and say the same thing once more. I was, as I told you, once returned as a refuser by the Committee here; yet some that have sought for my name at the Committee above, cannot find it; others that have enquired write word that I am not turned out yet, though many have been, since you received my last. Dr. Love is suspended, but not yet out: and some say there is a way found out, that he shall be thought to have

* See Tann. MSS. 56. 215.

given satisfaction, and so that he will be continued. But, unless he subscribe downright, I hardly think he can escape, for many gape for his places.

“ On Thursday last, the Committee above appointed three new masters for the void places: Mr. Lightfoot* for Catherine Hall, Mr. Simson (the great independent) for Pembroke Hall, and Mr. Worthington of our college for Jesus College. Mr. Cudworth† too is leaving us, having lately been presented, and now possessed, of a college living, North Cadbury, in Somersetshire, voided by Dr. Whichcote's resignation, who is vice-chancellor this year. Mr. Davenport of our college hath again deceived us, and having stoutly denied to engage before the Committee at London, when he was summoned, he hath since bethought him and done it here, and is now by a vote at London restored to his fellowship, out of which he was voted upon his former refusal. Mr. Adams, I

* This was the celebrated Dr. John Lightfoot, the learned Commentator on Scripture, who yielded to the prevailing temper of the times, and took the oaths required by the republican party. At the Restoration he offered to resign his preferments, but obtained a confirmation of them from the crown, probably from respect to his great learning.

† The celebrated Ralph Cudworth, author of the Intellectual System.

think, stands firm: and yet we despair not of keeping our places, till somebody goes to complain of us, and beg them; which will certainly be done, when the new swarm of bachelors that are to commence at Christmas shall be complete and ready for preferment. Our friends at Trinity are out, and others in their places. The Committee sat last week here, and summoned some of St. John's College to appear at London; but I heard nothing of them. Some would persuade me, and I am sometimes prone to believe it, that I have some secret friend who doth me good offices though I know it not. However, brother, 'tis a comfort to me, that I am sure of a friend in you; and, if the worst happen here, which I still expect, I may have a retreat with you, which still you so lovingly proffer. I thank you for your readiness to entertain my pupil with myself; but I shall not make use of your kindness, in that particular, if I may avoid it, for if I go hence, I desire privacy above all. Only I desired to know your mind, in case I should be importuned so, as I could not civilly deny."

The new creation of bachelors, alluded in this letter, took place, and still he was not disturbed. In the following April, he again wrote*

* See Tann. MSS. 54. 38.

to his brother in the full expectation that a very few days must finally terminate his possession of his academical situation.

April 22d, 1651.*

“ I received this day se’ennight an order of which I send you a copy, by which you will perceive that Thursday-come-fortnight is like to put an end to my hopes; yet haply not to my fears, since some of my friends would persuade me that I may outlive that date: I thank God I am not much solicitous in that behalf, having long since set up my rest: and so much the less, having this day received an overture of a subsistence full up to that of my fellowship, in which the employment required shall leave me too as much at liberty as I am at present.”

Still his friends were not without hopes that he might escape the danger. Dr. Brownrigg, the ejected bishop of Exeter, who interested himself much in his favour, and who appears to have possessed credit and influence even with the party that now prevailed, says, in a letter† to him, written in the following month—“ I am desirous to hear how you are dealt withal, for

* See Tann. MSS. 54. 38.

† Tann. MSS. 54. 69.

your continuance in Cambridge. I think your critical month is out, so that my hope is, you are forborne or forgotten by them that did pursue you."

In the same month, Mr. Sancroft wrote in the following terms to Bishop Brownrigg. It is a singular proof of the respect and esteem which attached to his character, to find, at a time of such political heats, those who owed their situations to the opposite party interesting themselves in the behalf of one who, they well knew, strongly condemned their principles and conduct.

May 24th, 1651.

"The dies decretorius passed according to my desire in silence; for had I been mentioned, I think nothing could have excused me from a sentence so peremptorily threatened. Your Lordship's letter (for which with the rest of your favours I return my humblest thanks) was carefully delivered, and produced this effect in Mr. Oldsworth, that he professed his very high esteem of your lordship, and how much he thought himself obliged to do his utmost in pursuance of your lordship's commands. Hereupon he was going to the Committee upon the day appointed with a resolution to move in my behalf; but was by the way desired by Dr.

Tuckney (who knew of your lordship's recommendation of my case to him) not to stir in it, unless I were first mentioned by some other, for it was my interest to be forgotten. He complied with this suggestion; and so, through God's mercy, I am still continued in my opportunities here, till either some young petitioner from hence, or their own reminiscence, shall revive my name at the Committee; and then actum est, ilicet. In the mean time, my station here can be on no account more valuable to me, than if it may render me capable of receiving your lordship's commands at a nigher distance, and of doing you some little of that service, of which I owe so much. Mr. Gayer, (God be praised) is well, and doth so. For university news, you will find more than my paper could tell you in the pamphlet I send; in which you will read Peter's chair shaken with the same arguments that levelled the throne (as if soldiers go a birding with their muskets, and shoot at butts with their field-pieces)."

But his good fortune in escaping the inquisition of his opponents did not continue much longer. Although it appears, from a letter of enquiry addressed to him by a friend on the 27th June, 1651, that at this period he was not ejected,

but only in immediate peril of it—the following extract, dated August 13th,* proves that his expulsion had then taken place.—“Our persecutors are not only ignorant, but malicious, as I perceive by your history, which I no sooner read, but I was forced to sigh out a long and sad farewell to Cambridge, the remembrance of which only your presence sweetened to me: how unhappy am I who shall be further separated from you and have no probable hopes of this sweet and friendly intercourse which I account my greatest happiness.”

Thus it may be conjectured that he was expelled from his fellowship in some part of the month of July in this year.†

* See Tann. MSS. 54. 148.

† The number of masters and fellows, at Cambridge, ejected during the time of the troubles is above 200; of these Walker says, that the larger part were turned out at the end of 1643 and the beginning of 1644, that is, principally for not taking the Covenant. It is observable that, as the Presbyterians had dispossessed the Royalists by means of the Covenant, so the Independents now dispossessed the Presbyterians by enforcing the Engagement,—so that several of those who were put in by the Earl of Manchester in 1643, were dispossessed in 1650. See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*. Respecting the comparative merits of the Puritans and Independents, see a very remarkable original letter by the celebrated Dr. Sanderson, taken from a manuscript collection of original letters in the Lambeth library, made with Archbishop Sancroft's own hand.—Appendix, No. V. 1.

It is highly interesting to observe the firm and resolute line of conduct which Mr. Sancroft maintained during this season of trial to all loyal subjects and all faithful sons of the church. It happened then, as it happens in all revolutionary times, that various hypotheses were started,* to make men's consciences easy under compliance, to induce them to truckle without scruple to the authorities which prevailed, and to measure their notions of what was just and right, by their feeling of what was most conducive to their present interests. The specious arguments which were invented on this side of the question, wrought upon many highly estimable persons, both amongst the clergy and the laity, who probably sincerely reconciled to their consciences compliance with all the oaths and engagements imposed by the government

* Among other books published about this time to induce men to comply with an unjust prevailing power, was one by Anthony Ascham, entitled "A Discourse wherein is examined what is particularly lawful during the Confusions and Revolutions of Government." 1648. An original letter of Dr. Sanderson's, taken from the same MS. collection of Archbishop Sancroft, is given in the Appendix (No. V. 2), in which, in remarking on this book, he lays down the true measure of that submission which should be made to an unjust usurpation, and shows, in very pointed terms, the evil of adopting the principle of general unlimited compliance with prevailing power, however unjustly established.

of the day. But Mr. Sancroft's conscience was formed of a firmer texture, and from less yielding materials. Bred up in loyal attachment to his sovereign, and ordained a minister of God's church on earth, he had sealed his ties to the service of both, in the sight of heaven, by the most solemn of all engagements; and, having done so, he could not be induced by any earthly consideration to bind himself in allegiance to those by whom the monarchy had been torn up from its foundations, and the holy church laid prostrate in the dust.

His firm and inflexible behaviour at this earlier period of his life finely illustrates the motives from which he afterwards acted at the time of the Revolution. It shows that the scrupulous regard to the obligation of an oath which he then maintained with excessive rigour, sprang from no feeling hastily or suddenly contracted, but from a principle which was deeply rooted in his heart, which formed an original and integral part of his character, and by which, under all the varying circumstances of his life, he steadily directed his course.

CHAPTER II.

FROM HIS EXPULSION FROM HIS FELLOWSHIP
TO THE RESTORATION.

*His Publication of the Fur Prædestinatus and Modern Policies—
Letters to and from his Friends—Residence in Holland—
Travels to the South of Europe—Return to England at the
Restoration.* See *h. M. 1830, vol. 2, 595*

IN the gloomy state of things which now prevailed, when principles were publicly maintained which tended to the destruction of social order, and to the confusion of all moral distinctions; when persons professing these principles had, by a course of nefarious policy, possessed themselves of the highest authority in the state, to the exclusion of the honest and upright part of the nation; when impiety and fanaticism had made a most unhallowed alliance; when the semblance of superior sanctity was assumed to veil the purposes of enormous wickedness, and religious motives pretended to justify the most atrocious crime; it was indeed necessary that the wise and the good should strenuously exert the best means they could command, of stemming the headstrong tide of error and delusion, and of restoring the nation to its proper tone of thinking and of acting. To

men like Mr. Sancroft it was, to men of sound principles and cultivated talents, who were not to be duped by the shallow arts of a crooked policy, nor seduced from the straight path of duty and of right by wild and ill-digested schemes of innovation, nor induced by any views of present worldly interest, meanly to support an usurpation raised on the overthrow of just and lawful authority; to such men it was, that the nation naturally turned for assistance in tearing off the mask from successful hypocrisy, and checking the growth of error and of crime, so as to fulfil its anxious hopes of better days. But driven, as such men were, from all situations of trust and power, and forced to screen themselves in retirement from the observation of prevailing tyranny, their means of exertion for the public good were unavoidably limited. One powerful instrument, however, for guiding public opinion, the press, was not to be silenced; and Mr. Sancroft stood up among the foremost to exert his superior talents in employing it for the cause of social order and sound religion. Two important publications proceeded about this time from his pen, which were extensively circulated and read with great avidity; both admirably adapted as prescriptions to heal the distempers of the times, and to induce a more healthful state of the political body.

The first of these, in Latin, was called *Fur Prædestinatus*, being intended to expose the doctrines of rigid Calvinism, the extensive prevalence of which had advanced very far in destroying all just and sound views of religion. The second, entitled “Modern Policies, taken from Machiavel, Borgia, and other choice authors,” was designed to hold up to deserved contempt the hollow and false policy which had been too successful in raising many worthless and profligate persons to stations of authority.

The exposure of the Calvinistic doctrines, made in the *Fur Prædestinatus*, was peculiarly seasonable at that time, when both the Puritans and Independents, however they differed from each other on points of church discipline and government, yet concurred in maintaining these doctrines in their utmost rigour, and pushed them to the extreme of Antinomianism; thereby obstructing the natural influence of Christianity on the human heart, and giving a free rein to perverse and headstrong passions. A dialogue is feigned between a thief condemned to immediate execution, and a Calvinistic preacher who came to move him to repentance for his crimes. The thief, although by his own acknowledgment he had lived in the commission of the worst enormities, is full of self-satisfaction; maintains that he could not possibly have acted

any other part than he has done, as all men, being either elect or reprobate, are predestined to happiness or misery; that the best actions, as they are reputed, partake of so much wickedness as to differ in no essential degree from the worst; that sinners fulfil the will of God as much as those who most comply with his outward commands; and that God, as working irresistibly in all men, is the cause of the worst sins which they commit. He says that he had always reflected respecting himself in this manner, that either he must be elect or reprobate; if the former, the Holy Spirit would operate so irresistibly as certainly to effect his conversion; if the latter, all his care and diligence for effecting his salvation would rather do harm than good; but now he felt satisfied he was one of the elect, who, though they may fall into grievous sins, cannot fail of salvation.

The dialogue is managed with great address and ability; and, what must have given it its greatest effect, the statements of the Calvinistic doctrines are made in the actual words of the principal writers of that persuasion, of whom not fewer than forty are quoted, and specially referred to, in the course of this short work. It may perhaps be deemed, on the whole, the most successful exposure, which has ever appeared, of the tendency of the Calvinistic doc-

trines when maintained in their unqualified strictness; as showing that, instead of nurturing and encouraging those feelings of humility, piety, and goodness, which are the genuine fruits of Christianity, they give birth to spiritual pride and self-satisfaction, give a free rein to licentious passions; bring the sinner to a hardened and impenitent state; and thus pervert the whole effect which this holy religion ought to have upon the human heart.

By some it may be thought that this dialogue exhibits rather a caricature than a faithful representation of the Calvinistic system of doctrines; that it describes their tendency in terms of too great exaggeration, to be admitted for a true description; and that those who maintain them are thus charged with consequences which they themselves neither tolerate nor sanction. It should be remembered, however, that the question is not, what consequences the Calvinistic teachers themselves have deduced from their doctrines: but what consequences are legitimately deduced from them, and flow from them by a natural tendency. If it be proved that the consequences here described are such as must naturally be derived from them, when consistently maintained; then it will too probably follow, that every mind which imbibes the doctrines will be, in some degree

or other, tainted with the evil; and we arrive at a certain conclusion that these cannot be the genuine doctrines of a religion destined to purify and meliorate the heart of man.

It should also be remembered that, at the time when this tract was written, the effects of these doctrines were exhibited to the eye of every observer in the most frightful forms. Under the assumed sanction of a perverted religion, the worst crimes had been perpetrated; all the sacred institutions of the country had been torn up by the roots; hypocrisy and enthusiasm had, with a portion of the nation, whom the success of their machinations had raised on an eminence so as to be seen from far, usurped the place of genuine Christian feelings; and they who signalized themselves by the commission of the boldest enormities, had made their unhallowed boast that they were doing the work of the Lord. At such a time, the disease was so violent in its symptoms, and so fatal in its effects, as to admit of no sparing hand in the application of the remedy. This was no season for disguising the truth, or flattering with soft and smooth speech. But it became an imperative duty to pourtray, in broad and deep lines, the harsh and rugged features of a system from which these evils had, in great measure, flowed, in order that men might be led to a just feeling and judgment of the truth.

This little tract obtained a rapid circulation, and passed through several editions. It appeared first in 1651, and was published in an English dress in 1658. An answer to it of considerable bulk appeared in 1657, written in Latin by George Kendal, S. T. D., and printed at Oxford under the title of *Fur pro Tribunali*, "the thief brought to judgment." This writer seems to have been worked up to the highest pitch of resentment towards the author of the tract, and employs against him at every page the most violent and opprobrious expressions. The real author appears not to have been suspected at the time. Kendal says that some persons had presumed to sanction it with the name of a bishop of our church, but that he could not believe such a paltry writer to be a son, much less a father of the English church, and he intimates his belief that it was imported into London either from Holland or Italy.* But, though

* The following is a specimen of Kendal's language.

De histrionici hujus, qui vocatur, dialogismi autore, quis fuerit, nec constat, nec refert. Nimis se prodit, non tantum Calviniani nominis, sed et totius orthodoxæ doctrinæ hostem, forte juratum, certe infensum, utpote qui clarissimos omnes Ecclesiarum Reformatarum heroes et fundatissimos receptæ religionis articulos, scurrili quidem sed et inficeto stylo petulantius perstringit.

The *Fur Prædestinatus* appears to have been reprinted a short time before the year 1703, in a work entitled "Reflections on a Dialogue between a Calvinistical Preacher and a Thief." In

the tract has never been published with the name of the author attached to it, general rumour has so constantly and decidedly ascribed it to the pen of Mr. Sancroft that there seems no room for doubt on the subject.*

1703 an answer to this was published by F. Gailhard, who says there were strong presumptions against Dr. T. Pierce being the author of the *Fur Prædestinatus*.—See Ayscough's MSS. in the Brit. Mus. v. 4223.

An edition of the *Fur Prædestinatus* was published in 1813, for Sharpe, Fenchurch Street; and in 1814, an English translation of it was prepared and published by Dr. Nichols, Dean of Middleham, with an Appendix, exemplifying the argument by the case of a malefactor executed at Northampton.

* Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, giving a short account of Archbishop Sancroft, (p. 160.) says that "he joined with Mr. George Davenport and another of his friends in composing this satire on Calvinism." He does not state on what grounds he affirms that there was this association in the composition of the work. As the title-page of the *Fur Prædestinatus* states that it was published "Impensis F. G. Typis G. D." (probably Francis Gayer and George Davenport, both intimate friends of Mr. Sancroft,) it is very possible that Dr. Birch, or some one from whom he quoted, may have considered the persons designated by these initials as joined in the composition of the work, although the words clearly imply nothing more than that they united in the expense of publishing it: and this may be the sole origin of the notion that others besides Sancroft were concerned in writing it. Dr. Salter, in a note to the preface to *Whichcote's Aphorisms*, considers Sancroft as the sole author of the *Fur Prædestinatus*.—p. 105. Respecting George Davenport, see note at p. 51. He settled after the Restoration in the county of Durham, under the patronage of Bishop Cosin; suc-

The tract entitled "Modern Policies," was probably first published in 1651 or 1652; but the precise time has not been ascertained. It is no slight proof of its great popularity, and, it may be added, of the effect it must have had on the state of public opinion, that a seventh edition of it was published in 1657.* Indeed, as it was one of the most successful, so it was undoubtedly one of the ablest pamphlets that appeared in those times for the purpose of exposing the hypocritical and wicked policy of the then prevailing party. The title-page states that it was written by an eye-witness; and, in truth, it bears the strongest internal evidence of proceeding from the pen of one who not only saw, but traced with a keen and penetrating eye, all the hidden and intricate windings of the

ceeded Sancroft in the rectory of Houghton le Spring, in that county, in 1664, and died in 1677; having been a great benefactor to the living. See Hutchison's History of Durham.

* An edition of it in 4to. was published in 1690, being an exact copy of the original, with the exception that to the dedication the name W. Blois is affixed, being either a feigned name, or that of the person who then edited. It is published in Lord Somers's Collection of Tracts, and in 1817 was republished separately, with a short Preface and Appendix. It is supposed that several other editions of it have occurred. It is also known that the substance of the tract has appeared under different titles. Thus, in 1681, a small volume entitled Machiavel Redivivus, by J. Yalden, Esq. was taken from it almost verbatim.

hollow and crooked policy which had been too successfully practised; who not only discerned all its lineaments as they showed themselves on the surface, but followed it into those recesses of the heart in which it was engendered. The whole is written in a tone of free and light good-humour, covering a vein of keen and cutting irony. The quaintness of the style gives it a character of simplicity which is peculiarly pleasing. The matter is enforced and embellished with a great variety of illustrations, and a mass of quotations from different authors, which attest at once the extent of the author's reading, and his skill and judgement in applying it.

This tract was published at a time when it was dangerous to speak the truth in plain and undisguised terms, and when, therefore, the talent which our author possessed, and so happily exercised, of striking down craft and wickedness with the shafts of satire and irony, was peculiarly valuable. "It is foolish," he says in his address to the reader, "to laugh in the face of Dionysius, and dangerous to shrug before Andronicus. It is not good to tempt the displeasures of tyrants upon idle scores; a thin shield will serve to keep out the style of a satirist; nor can I commend him that lost his bishopric for a romance. Therefore I brand not persons, but things; and, if any man's guilt

flashes in his face when he reads, let him mend the error, and he is unconcerned."

It is dedicated "to my Lord R. B. E." by which initials, there seems little doubt, is meant Ralph (Brownrigg) Bishop of Exeter,* between whom and Mr. Sancroft great intimacy subsisted. The plan which the author pursues, is, that of laying down in detail, as the principles on which a true politician should act, those false principles on which the wicked politicians of his day had too successfully acted, and then exposing those principles to the contempt and abhorrence of the reader, by the manner in which he states and illustrates them. At the close of each separate topic, he drops the ironical style, and gives a few short and pithy sentences of serious admonition to the reader.

The tract is well worthy of perusal, as containing much valuable truth, happily expressed and applied, and as exhibiting a close and accurate knowledge of the human heart. It is to be contemplated, not only with reference to those times and characters, with a view to which it was more immediately written, but also as applying generally to all times in which similar delusions prevail, and similar practices are followed. Never indeed more than at the period to which it refers, were the

* See note at p. 24.

ways of unsound and nefarious policy more successfully pursued; never was religion more used as a cloak for unhallowed ambition, and never were right and wrong more unhappily confounded. But, as long as the human heart remains what it is, so long, we may be too certain, will occasions recur, in which similar arts of policy will be, more or less, pursued; this exposure of them, therefore, can never be out of date, nor wholly without use in the application.

Amongst the literary works to which Mr. Sancroft gave a part of his attention during the republican times, was a Collation of the Vulgate Translation of the New Testament, with those of Beza and other moderns, in the Four Gospels and the Acts, published in 1655, in which the author's object is to shew that the Vulgate reading is preferable to all the later ones. This work* was undertaken under the

* The book is scarce. It is entitled, *Veteris Interpretis cum Beza aliisque recentioribus Collatio, in Quatuor Evangeliiis et Apostolorum Actis, in qua, annon sæpius absque justâ satis causâ hi ab illo discesserint, disquiritur. Authore Johanne Boisio Ecclesiæ Eliensis Canonico, opus auspiciis Reverendi Præsulis, Lanceloti, Wintoniensis Episcopi, τὴ μακαρίτη, cæptum et perfectum. London, 1655.* The only copy I have seen is one in the possession of the Rev. H. J. Todd, in which is the following in MS. by an old hand, "Præfationis hujus ad Lectorem Autor perhibetur Gul. Sancroft postea Archiep.

auspices of Lancelot Andrews, Bishop of Winchester, by John Boys, Prebendary of Ely. The object of it is to defend the Vulgate, which had long borne the sanction of the church, against the innovations of modern translators. What part of the work itself came from the hand of Mr. Sancroft, cannot be ascertained; but the Preface, though appearing without a name, has been universally ascribed to his pen; and indeed it bears such striking evidences of his peculiar style and manner, as scarcely to admit of a doubt. After lamenting that the learned persons to whom he refers, Beza and others, had not rather employed their time in correcting the Vulgate than in making entirely new translations, he thus proceeds, with allusion to the state of the times:

“ Observe, reader, with me, and lament over, as you observe, the character of an age verging to decrepitude, and of a world hastening to destruction. Now-a-days, no reformation is acceptable, except when, the foundations

Cantuar.” In the *Biographia Britannica*, it is stated, in giving the list of Archbishop Sancroft’s publications, that he edited Bishop Andrews’s Defence of the Vulgate translation of the Bible, with a preface of his own. This description is not accurate; both the title-page and the preface state that John Boys was the author of the work; Sancroft probably assisted in it, or superintended it generally.

being entirely rooted up, every thing rises new. To such a degree do we now breathe, and sigh over (*spiramus suspiramusque*) all things new; new lights, a new England, a new world, a new and fifth monarchy, a new and fifth gospel, if it so please God." In another passage, "Hear, reader, but in a whisper, lest the people overhear; the worst of all methods of Reformation, although the newest, is to destroy for the purpose of building; which plan those who have hitherto followed, have procured for us an exchange, not like that of Homer, of gold for brass; but like that of Horace, of round for square; that is, of things unstable and perishing for firm and durable: for, whereas it is the character of old things to be firm, like a cube or fourcornered figure; so most new things bear resemblance to a sphere, which is moved by the slightest touch, as standing on a point only, and having no basis.* He states at the close that the learned Lancelot Andrews, then Bishop of Ely, wished to undertake this defence of the Vulgate; but, being himself prevented by various public occupations, committed the work to John Boys, a man of all

* The author of this preface deals in quaint expressions, and occasionally condescends to a pun. In one part he says, *everrit domum vidua evangelica, non evertit.*

others best qualified for it, and well known to the learned for his notes on St. Chrysostom.

From the time of Mr. Sancroft's ejection from his fellowship to the Restoration, in 1660, the particulars of his private history can only be scantily gleaned from such casual notices as happen to have been preserved. He appears to have found an asylum principally, during the earlier portion of this interval, at his brother's house at Fresingfield, paying occasional visits to his friends in London and in other parts. But even the places of his residence can scarcely be discovered, except from the superscription of such letters as have been preserved, addressed to him at different periods.

The emoluments of his academical situation having ceased, his means of maintaining himself must have been greatly reduced. It has appeared, from one of his former letters, that an advantageous offer was made to him about the time of his losing his fellowship: it is probable either that he did not accept this offer, or that he did not long retain the situation to which it referred; for we find him frequently changing his residence, and apparently always visiting amongst his private friends. There is reason to believe, that some little fortune came to him on his father's death; possibly some

profit accrued to him from his publications; and he may have been enabled to make some savings from the emoluments of his academical situation. But, whatever were his circumstances, at the best far from affluent, many of those who were sufferers in the same cause with himself were reduced to a state of real destitution; and, as will be abundantly seen from some of the following letters, he on many occasions displayed a noble spirit of liberality in imparting a portion of his own scanty means for the relief of those amongst his brethren who were more in need than himself.

In March, 1652, we find him resident at Triplow, in Cambridgeshire, and writing from thence to his friend Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) North.* He appears to have been consulted respecting the exercises of some young academician, and to have passed at first a judgment which he discovered to be too unfavourable.—“Though it be unusual,” he says, “for the foot to preserve the horse, yet here, beyond expectation, the prose has rescued the verse. All that can be said in my excuse is, that, if they be not theirs whom I suspected, they are his who, if he thrives on at this high

* See Familiar Letters of Dr. William Sancroft to Mr. North, p. 1.—published in 1757.

rate, will quickly write as lofty and as trim a line, as either Thorius or Heinsius. Had the theme been one word shorter which you gave him, the boy had clearly confuted it, and so sudden a growth might well have put in a demur to *nemo repente fuit*. In a grove so fairly promising, (though I have taken but a glance or two at it) I dare assure myself I discover the poetical laurel happily prosperous among the rest; green even in winter, and sweetly flourishing upon so uncouth a subject. You do well to love and to cherish so fair a morning, since it is a sure prognostic of a beautiful day likely to follow."

Although he was driven from his residence at Cambridge, he appears to have maintained a correspondence with his friends there, and to have taken an interest in the affairs of the University. The following letters, addressed to him by H. Paman, give an interesting and lively picture of the state of things there.

*To my ever honoured Friend, Mr. Wm. Sancroft,
from Henry Paman.**

Dated St. John's, March 5th, 1652.

"HONOURED TUTOR,

"I did intend this day to have been at Triplow, but that some letters from my

* Harl. MSS. 3783. p. 124.

father, which inquire after your health, arrested my resolution. I hope, by this opportunity, to know that your ague is gone, and your health renewed and young again.—F . . . at London thanked God for the bitter mercy.* And Peters more scurvily said, the business was so long doubtful that God was brought to his hums and hawes, which way he should fling the victory. Most believe, it was an Edgehill victory. After so long banishment, the Common Prayer last Thursday at night entered into Trinity chapel, and once more consecrated it. Dr. Hill, next morning, they say, snuffed; he thought sure his incense would not ascend with strange fire, and presently swept the chapel with an exposition. Dr. Comber had leave to be buried in his own vineyard; and, though he might not live upon his own ground, he may sleep and rest there. He showed so much gentleness while he lived, there is no fear of an angry tormenting ghost.”

To Mr. Wm. Sancroft, from Henry Paman,

(At Mr. Gayer's Lodgings, in the Middle Temple.)

“ St. John's, March 30th, 1653.

“ HONOURED TUTOR,

“ I humbly thank you for the account I received of your health, which is always very

* This seems to allude to the great naval battle fought between the English and Dutch admirals, Blake and Van Tromp, for three days, about February 18, 175 $\frac{2}{3}$. See Echard.

acceptable, I am sorry to hear Mr. Gayer has got an ague. I was with Mr. Orator, (for so his first and excellent fruit of his office yesterday makes me remember him,) who returns his humble service. Mr. Peters preached here on Sunday, and, in the general, cheated the company and expectation with a sober honest sermon; only he was not so severe as altogether to forget what many came for, but satisfied them sometimes in words and sometimes in action. At Ely, he told the people, the draining of the fens was a divine work, having a resemblance to the work of the third day. Mr. Boreman preached yesterday, who, they say, deceived few men's expectations, for it was generally thought a grave piece of affectation. He told Mrs. Comber, she need not use the orator, for he would sufficiently supply that; which yet was the fairest piece of the solemnity. He observed that the Dr. was born of New-year's day, and that it was then presaged he would be a deodate, a fit new-year's gift for God to bestow on the world. He was a Joseph, the twelfth son, and christened on the Epiphany twelfth day—born and christened on two eminent holydays, in high esteem with the church constantly before these times. He drove the chariot of this college for fourteen years, till a boisterous northern storm cast him out of the box. He was called to dispute at St. Andrew's in Scot-

land; they wondered as much at his subtilty, as we have done at their strange actions since.—These are some fragments which I make bold to send you of that long meal we had, without one drop of liquor. The solemnity was private, in Trinity College—some few invited had gloves and ribbons, but no entertainment beside.

“Honoured Tutor,

“Your most real servant,

“HENRY PAMAN.

“My most humble service to Mr. Gayer.”

*To Mr. Wm. Sancroft, from Henry Paman.**

Dated St. John's, July 3d, 1656.

“The business of the commencement is over, from whence none returns with fairer credit than Mr. Frost, who kept the B. D. act, Dr. Boylston the other. They call him Dr. Deborah, for so is his wife's name; and she, they say, the greatest prophetess. Our nation of physicians still increase; we have five Drs. this year; so numerous we are, that we shall soon be reduced to the necessity of practising upon one another, as the great fish on the smaller. We had one B. D. out of Suffolk, who came rather to make sport and satisfy his wife, than for credit to the University; his

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 192.

name is Beversham. I will give you a taste of him. In his English sermon upon this text—‘The wind bloweth where it listeth,’—“A twig from the stem of Jesse whipt Nicodemus into a right understanding of regeneration.” In his prayer, this was a piece of confession; “Lord, the babe of grace in the womb of our souls has not leapt at the tidings of our salvation.”

During the years 1653, 4 and 5, his letters are principally addressed to him at Fresingfield, at the house of his brother, Mr. Thomas Sancroft. Two more letters from him to Mr. North, written in 1655, happen to be preserved. They are no further valuable, than as they tend to unfold the private features of his character and to display his mode of thinking and feeling in his familiar hours.

The first of these,* dated February 13th, evidently refers to some composition which his friend had requested him to revise.—“What you so kindly proffer,” he says, “I shall impatiently expect, and most gladly receive, though not as a judge, yet as a friend. It is but the handsome disguise of your love and friendliness, that, where you mean a kindness, you will pretend to receive one, and so render your courtesy still the more obliging.

* See Familiar Letters to Mr. North, p. 3.

Nor can you need any approbation of mine before you appear in public; it is only an assurance of your friendship, that you admit me into your tiring room to see you act your part there, before you tread the stage. And therefore, though I neither hope, nor pretend to send back your papers with any advantages they bring not with them, yet can I not refuse the entertainment you proffer me in the sight of so much of neat and elegant (as I promise myself in your composures), after having been so long a stranger to any thing of the nature."

The second,* dated from Fresingfield, June 27th, is written to his friend residing at Cambridge. He says—"It is commencement time, and I must not dissemble my curiosity. If you please to give me the Cambridge Iliad in your nutshell, and spend your next page in the names of the respondents with your thesis, and what else you shall judge worth the remarking, you will oblige me. From hence you cannot expect I should tell you any thing, but that I have here thick shades, and cool walks, but no company in them, except that of my own thoughts. In which, if I say I often meet with Bury and Bansfield and Cambridge too (for your sake and Mr. Widdington's,) you

* Familiar Letters to Mr. North, p. 5.

will easily believe me; since 'tis hard to forget so much worth and so much friendliness met together. Cebes's Table, illustrated by the hand you mention, will look like one of Apelles's pieces, new washed by a Vandyke or Rubens; and the last hand, if it creates not new beauties, will discover what else had lain hid. That I have not all this while waited upon the Doctor at Bury, and my friends at Bansfield, (for whom yet I preserve a most high and cordial respect,) attribute it, if you please, partly to my having been unhorsed since the beginning of May, and partly to the sluggishness of my temper, which renders me unwilling to stir, especially in summer time; which yet is not so great, but that the very mention of going over sea, in so good company as that of Mr. Gardiner, is enough to rouse me, though not so far as to form any steady design or resolve, or to make him any proposition concerning it as from me, yet so as to inquire further of you, if you be so far privy to his designs, when he would go, and whither, and how long he will stay out. I am heartily sorry that he cannot yet take truce with his grief, that sits so nigh him: I know nothing more likely to put an end to it, than either to travel beyond sea, or to re-marry at home. In which estate, that Dick Holden thrives so well,

I am glad to hear; God send him joy in his wife's fruitfulness, and his brother contentment in the want of it; which I hope I shall not fail to preserve in myself too."

Amongst the distinguished persons with whom Mr. Sancroft maintained at this time a familiar correspondence, was Dr. John Cosin. This very eminent divine, in common with many other luminaries and ornaments of the English church, had suffered severely from the troubles of the times, and was now awaiting in banishment the return of happier days. As he bore a most important share at a subsequent period in laying the foundation of Mr. Sancroft's elevation in the church, it may not be amiss to give the outline of his history. He was born at Norwich in 1594, received his education at Caius College, Cambridge, and became fellow of that college. In early life, recommended, as is probable, by his talents and his proficiency in learning, he found two eminent patrons, Dr. Overall, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, to whom he was librarian, and Dr. R. Neile, Bishop of Durham, to whom he was domestic chaplain, and who, in 1624, collated him to a stall in the cathedral church of Durham. He became, at an early period, obnoxious to the Puritan party, having been known to assist at

various meetings at the Bishop of Durham's, with Dr. Laud and others. In 1634, he was made master of Peterhouse; in 1640, he held the situation of vice-chancellor at Cambridge, and was appointed Dean of Peterborough in the same year. In 1642, he suffered under the storm which threatened to overwhelm all that was upright and honest in the nation. He was impeached by the Commons through the influence of the Puritans; all his preferments were sequestered, and himself obliged to fly the kingdom. He retired to Paris, where he afterwards officiated as chaplain to a part of Queen Henrietta's household, and as minister to a congregation of Protestants; and employed himself in literary pursuits. His circumstances at this period seem to have been very far from affluent. After the Restoration, he took possession of his former preferments; and the king, reflecting on his services and his sufferings, made him Bishop of Durham. He filled this see for the space of eleven years, and was eminently distinguished from the munificent use which he made of his ample revenue.

The following is part of a letter written to Mr. Sancroft by this eminent person during his exile at Paris. It is interesting, as affording an attestation from such a quarter of the estimation

in which Mr. Sancroft's name was at this time held in the church for general probity, uprightness, and firmness of character. The letter is addressed "To my very worthy and honoured friend, Mr. W. Sancroft, at London,"—it is dated Paris, February 3, 1656. After mentioning the gratification he had received from the society of a gentleman whom Mr. Sancroft had recommended to him, and who was now returning to London, he proceeds*—"In the mean while he will have the pleasure and benefit of being near to you, whose religious and prudent instructions have already rendered him so great a lover of virtue, and fixed such principles of faith and good life in him, that by the grace of God he will remain most constant and true to them all. I am right glad to hear still, (as I have been told by divers persons heretofore,) how firm and unmoved you continue your own standing in the midst of these great and violent storms that are now raised against the church of England; which, for my part, notwithstanding the outward glory and dress that she had be in these evil times taken from her, yet I honour and reverence above all the other churches of the world: for she bears upon her, more signally than any other

* See Harleian MSS. 3783. 102.

that I know does, the marks of Christ, which, when all is done, will be our greatest glory.

“ For the favour which you sent me, I render you many thanks; and, though you call it tantillum, yet it will help me to a greater purchase than I could have been able here to make without it; totus enim sum in conquirendis bonis libris. And besides, the token is the more acceptable to me, because it comes from a person whose worth and virtue is at a high value with me, and of whose good acquaintance I have been long desirous. Mr. Davenport (who truly is ad mentem meam) will say the rest and tell you after what condition we make shift here to live in this place, where I am,

“ Sir,

“ Your most affectionate

“ and humble Servant,

“ J. COSIN.”

In the year 1657, Mr. Sancroft had the offer of a chaplaincy in the family of Lord Herbert; an appointment carrying with it indeed no great prospect of advantage, besides that of an agreeable retreat for a gentleman and a man of letters in the polished society which the house of a nobleman was likely to afford. The following letter from Bishop Brownrigg, conveying to him the offer, shows that a situation of

this description was an object to which his wishes were at this time directed.

*To my very worthy Friend, Mr. Sancroft.**

Highgate, October 10th, 1657.

“ LOVING AND BELOVED SIR,

“ You may remember that I speaking with you about a chaplain for my Lady Capell, you then expressed your inclination to accept of such an employment: now, Sir, I received this day a letter from my Lady Herbert, my Lady Capell’s eldest daughter, who is married to my Lord Herbert, heir to the Marquis of Worcester, by which she is desirous I might find out a chaplain for her, to live in their house; the salary will be £40 per annum, and all other accommodations; the work a sermon in the forenoon on Sundays, and prayers every day. I know the allowance, though otherwise competent, yet is unworthy of you; but the character which is given of him whom she desires (as is largely set out by Mr. Baker, my Lady Capell’s chaplain) is so fitted for you that I could not forbear writing to you, heartily wishing you would consent to this request if your health will allow you to enter on it. The letter sent to me was dated in August,

* Harleian MSS. 3784. 7.

but came not to my hand till this 10th October; but I will speedily write to Cashiobury, where my Lady lives, near St. Alban's, and then, upon your answer to me, I shall forthwith acquaint them with my recommendations of you. Sir, you will readily interpret this offer of mine in meliorem partem, my heart is not straightened to you, though my hands and all opportunities be. With my most hearty love sealed up to you, I rest,

“ Sir,

“ Yours, animitus,

“ RA. EXON.”

He was probably prevented from accepting this situation by the project which he appears to have contemplated for some time, and which he now matured, of travelling into foreign parts. This design was opposed to the wishes of many of his friends, who thought that his talents and services could ill be spared at home. One of them, writing to him, September 7, 1657, says—“ Think no more of the sea; you may challenge the privilege *tutò clarere domi*. Your fame will go thither without your person; and you will obtain that by sitting still, which others would vainly pursue by travel; *orbe clues toto*. Let others go on ship-board to be known and heard of; you need

not, neither can we spare you; hundreds will tell you so." Another writing to him, February 18th, 165 $\frac{7}{8}$,* while he was absent, says—"The nation cannot be well without you; never was it so much distempered as since you have left it; it hath lost both its health and its wits, and all in it are either sick or phrenetical: till you return, we expect no amendment."

But, whatever may have been the warm expressions of his friends on this occasion, we may safely conclude, from all that we know of his character, that he would not have withdrawn himself to foreign parts, had he perceived any method by which his services at home could avail for the support of the cause which he had so deeply at heart. His first project appears not to have extended beyond the fixing his residence in Holland. That country was now becoming the great centre of union for the exiled royalists of England; and he probably found there a society more suited to his habits and wishes, than he could do in England.

He appears to have first passed over into Holland in November, 1657. A letter† addressed to him at Amsterdam about the middle of the month, shows that he was then resident

* Harl. MSS. 3784. 84. &c.

† Ibid. 3784. 174.

in that city. In the next month, we find him removed to Utrecht, where, as appears from the superscriptions of letters addressed to him,* he continued to reside during the whole of 1658, and till about the middle of 1659. His character, as a divine of eminence, followed him to Holland: in August, 1658, he was honoured† with an invitation to preach a sermon before the Princess of Orange;‡ and, soon afterwards, a proposal was set on foot for appointing him one of her chaplains. We find no trace of the appointment having ever taken place, although nothing is known of the cause of the failure. In the autumn of 1658, he was joined in Hol-

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 105, &c.

† See a letter from Dr. T. Brown, dated August 15th, 1658, to Mr. Sancroft's friend, Mr. Michael Honeywood.—Harl. MSS. 3783. 60.

‡ Mary, the eldest daughter of Charles the First, was married to William of Nassau, Prince of Orange, in 1641. Her husband died of the small-pox, November, 1650, and nine days after his death, she was delivered of a son, afterwards William the Third. (Hist. of William III.)—In Harl. MSS. 3784. 172, 173, are two letters, dated the Hague, September 18th and 24th, 1658, from Thomas Page to Mr. Sancroft at Utrecht, in which, after mentioning a proposal made by Dr. Brown for him (Mr. Sancroft) to become “an officiating chaplain to the Princess,” he says, “No man will be more forward to assist you in that enterprize than himself, if you will endeavour to procure the King's or Duke of York's, or any other recommendation in that behalf, which may appear valuable.”

land by a very intimate friend, named Robert Gayer, with whom he had long been in habits of frequent correspondence; and this gentleman tempted him to undertake a tour in the following year to the southern parts of Europe. In a letter* addressed to him in the month of

* See Harl. MSS. 3784. 41. A very close intimacy appears to have subsisted between this gentleman's family and Mr. Sancroft. A Mr. John Gayer, probably brother to Robert Gayer, died a short time before this, and bequeathed a sum of money and a small annuity to Mr. Sancroft, which he mentions as a debt in the following clause of his will :—" I leave in particular the sum of £200 due from me to my loving friend, Wm. Sancroft, clerk, and also £60 by the year, during the natural life of the said Wm. Sancroft, due to him from me."—Harl. MSS. 3784. 208. There is a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 97.) to Mr. Sancroft, signed Revera Constanter, March 12th, 1657, which it appears from internal evidence is written by his fellow traveller, Mr. Robert Gayer. The following extracts from it are worth producing, in proof of the enthusiastic friendship which he bore to Mr. Sancroft.

" DEAR FRIEND,

" I received yours, Monday, March 7th, but I could not make return sooner than this. I am sorry to hear you threaten us with so long an absence, and a greater distance; but I hope to see you there, if not here, before you remove your quarters; but go you whither you will, you shall not escape me. I'll follow as close as your shadow, and unless the warm reviving morning sun of your ever past kindnesses set in the evening of our days, Revera Constanter will never leave you so: montes atque æquora sperno. Sir, as soon as you will please to send me your bond, I shall give another to the same

October, Mr. Gayer says, "my greatest design in Holland is to gain your company; and my inclinations are, to reside there this winter, if yours do not lead them another way; and in the spring, if my desire suit with yours, I shall be glad to creep into a warmer climate, as Italy, or elsewhere you please, and think will best suit your constitution."

The project of travelling, which was thus intended for the spring of 1659, was not put into execution till about the month of July.* Pre-

effect, to those hands you appoint. And for the annuity, we must suspend till we see the issue at a month or six weeks time, which possibly may give me a power to make good my brother's engagements, to tie land for security of your annuity, which, when in my power, revera, I promise to do it. Friend, my ink is almost frozen again, but my heart and real inclination to serve you will never freeze, but with the hand that holdeth the pen that telleth you, I shall not need a secretary to give an accompt of the execution of your so small commands, which are the measures of your kindnesses to him who in the very serving you hath so high a reward."

* One letter, dated in June, is directed to Mr. Sancroft at Utrecht; and another, dated August 28th, is addressed to Geneva. Thus, in the interval between these dates, he moved from the former to the latter place. See Harl. MSS. 3783. 103, 104. The charges of this journey seem to have been chiefly, if not wholly, borne by Mr. Gayer, who was probably a man of fortune. In the Harleian Collection (3783. 1.) is a letter, dated London, May 12th, 1659, from Robert Abdy to Mr. Paolo del Sera at Venice, telling him that he will have received a letter of April 15th, by the hands of Mr. Gayer, de-

viously to his departure from Utrecht, Mr. Sancroft received the intelligence of the death of his stepmother, his father's second wife; and in a letter to his brother, on the occasion, he expresses himself in the following feeling terms.

*Mr. W. Sancroft to his Brother.**

May 20th, 1659.

“ Dear brother, your's of May 3, I received the 18th of the same; and in it, as I ought, resented the news of my mother-in-law's death. 'Tis an object I will fix and charge upon my memory; and often represent to my thoughts my dear father lying buried betwixt his two wives; and though I am now ready to wander further from you, yet will I hope, one day, to return and find my last home at his feet, which is my desire. Upon the news you send

siring him to furnish him with the value of £1000. He proceeds—“ This gentleman (the bearer hereof) does accompany him in his travels, and will therefore, I suppose, have little or no occasion to take up any money; yet, not knowing what may fall out, I do hereby entreat you, (if he shall desire it,) to furnish him with the value of £100 sterling, either in money or in bills, as he shall desire it, for any parts of Italy, taking his receipts or bills for the same, which shall be punctually satisfied by your friend and servant.”—At the bottom is added, —“ My friend's name above-mentioned is Mr. William Sancroft.”

* Tann. MSS. 51. 66.

me, it cannot be unseasonable to reflect a little upon our mortality; especially there being now none left upon earth who gave to us those superior relations of father and mother, scarce of uncle or aunt; so that we stand in the front of the battle, and in order of nature must look to be the next spoils of death's all-conquering dart. Let us not then flatter ourselves, brother; for in earnest we grow old; and 'tis strange that, of so many as we are, none have yet laid their heads in the dust: which we shall do with greater confidence and comfort, if betimes we provide and prepare for it; nay, and with joy too, if we consider how wretched a world we bid farewell to; God Almighty send the next generation a more comfortable pass through it than we are like to see."

It has already appeared that Mr. Sancroft, in a noble spirit of munificence, was in the habit of dispensing a portion of his contracted means for the relief of the necessities of his suffering brethren. Some letters addressed to him about this time, further illustrate this amiable feature of his character.

The following extract of a letter from Robert Creychtone* expresses gratitude for favours re-

* There seems every reason to believe that this is the Robert Creighton who was afterwards Bishop of Bath and Wells. He was born in 1593, and was educated at Trinity College,

ceived from him and Mr. Gayer, in as glowing terms as can well be imagined. It is dated from the Hague, June 16, 1659, and directed to him at Utrecht.*

“ My very worthy friend and brother, Mr. Sancroft, you are a most strange and miraculous good man to me, I must confess, who have pursued me with the greatest benefits, favours, and courtesies, that I ever received from any man, ever since I had the happiness, and I may truly call it a happiness, to know you; your

Cambridge, where he was afterwards elected fellow. He was public orator of the university from the year 1627 to 1639; his name also appears in the list of Greek professors: he seems to have been forced to resign this office, and to have been re-appointed to it at the time of the Restoration. During the rebellion his loyalty brought him into danger, and he escaped to Charles II. who made him his chaplain. At the Restoration he was made Dean of Wells, and in 1670 Bishop of Bath and Wells, but held the latter dignity only two years. He was esteemed a very learned man; his principal work is a translation from Greek into Latin, Sylvester Syguropolus's History of the Council of Florence, printed at the Hague, 1660.—See *Biographia Britannica*, and Kennett's MS. Collections, 986. On the letter here quoted in the text, Mr. Baker (see Baker's MSS. at Cambridge) remarks, “ These are good words; what returns he made I have not read, though he was afterwards a bishop.” From the preceding account it appears that he was a bishop only for two years, and that at a time when Dr. Sancroft was holding high situations in the church.

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 105.

kindness and swelling bounty have exceeded the very name of bounty, and the greediest hope that could arise in myself, if I had had pretences towards you, or yet dependance on you. Three several times I have been plentifully supplied by yourself, and through your means, from that noble gentleman Mr. Gayer, but this last exceeding all, and transcending the vastness of your own goodwill in giving, and my modesty in receiving: you have sown your seed in barren ground, you may be sure, for no earth is able to bring forth crops to so redundant and overflowing seed; yet you shall never sow it on an unthankful soil, for, whilst I live, I never shall forget it."

An instance has already appeared of his bounty to Dr. Cosin. The following letters from that eminent person in his exile at Paris, show that the favours of a pecuniary nature bestowed upon him by Mr. Sancroft, and by his friend Mr. Gayer, were by no means confined to a single instance.

From Dr. Cosin.—"For my very much honoured friend Mr. William Sancroft, at Utrecht."*

Dated Paris, June 26th, 1659.

"SIR,

"By the order which you were pleased to give unto Mr. J. Abeels, of Amsterdam, I

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 103.

have here at Paris received 119 crowns tournois, which, being so great a supply to my present condition, and coming from so good a hand as your's is, layeth a very great obligation upon me to return you my most grateful acknowledgment of your special kindness and favour to me herein. It may well be that I am in this particular likewise beholden to Mr. Gayer, of whose generous freedom and bounty I have had divers testimonies heretofore; Mr. Abeels' letter names him not; but I heard from Mr. Davenport some while since, that you and he were together at Utrecht, where I beseech God to send his best blessings upon you both. I have of late lost the force of my reading eye (having never had but one for that purpose), and I am endeavouring every day, by the art and help of the most skilful oculist here, to recover it again; whereof they put me in good hope when the cataract is once come to maturity, which they say will be about eight or ten months hence. In the mean while, not to be able to read (nor to write but by guess as I now do) is the greatest misery that ever yet befel me. I desire Mr. Gayer and you to accept of my thanks, and with the continuance of your good affection to me to let me have the benefit of your prayers."

From Dr. Cosin to Mr. Sancroft “chez M. Perrot, rue de Chanoins, Geneve.”*

Dated August 28th, 1659.

“SIR,

“I have received your's of August 9; but my sight is so obstructed (as it has been now these five or six months together, with a cataract in both my eyes) that I cannot, without much difficulty, either read or write any letters; yet I neglected not to make my acknowledgments in writing, and to give you thanks for what you ordered to be paid unto me here at Paris in June last, though it should seem my letter is not come to your hands, and therefore I will renew my thankfulness to you again, being more obliged to you for the several good supplies you have been pleased to make and to procure to me, than I am any way able to recompense. And what I say to you, I beseech you say for me to Mr. Robert Gayer, whom I have great reason, among others that freely dispense their piety, to affect and honour. His intended journey, and your's into Italy, where you can see little else but vice and vanity, if God bless our hopes now begun in our own country, will be soon at an end: for we are here assured that there is in England a consi-

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 104.

derable army of ten thousand about Chester, and divers others in several parts of the kingdom, that are resolved to put off their new masters, and to call in the king, who, with his brother the Duke of York, is already gone that way, to attend God's good pleasure and blessing upon us all. I am glad to hear from you that my history of the Scripture Canon* pleased you so well; but it was my late sitting up at nights to follow that work, that lost me the vigour of my eyes, and will retard me, till I recover my sight, from perfecting any other such treatise which I intended to publish, whereof that which Dr. Morley showed you, if God give me leisure, is like to be the first."

The course of their travels may be traced by incidental notices. The following letter to Mr. Sancroft shows that they passed through Spa and Maestricht in their way to Geneva. It attests further, his munificence to his friends in distress, and shows how clearly at this time the hope of the happy political change which ensued was now beginning to dawn.

* The title-page of this work is as follows; "A Scholastical History of the Holy Scripture; or the certain and indubitate Books thereof, as they are received in the Church of England. Compiled by Dr. Cosin, Dⁿ. of P. and Mr. of St. P. C. in the University of Cambridge (now sequestered.)" London, 1657.

*From John Earles “à M. S. à Maestricht.”**

Dated Bruxelles, June 30th, (1659.)

“ I hope it will be better, for all our sakes, and I hope shortly, though I can give you no other ground for it, but a general cheerfulness in the looks and words of those that should know best, and have no cause to be so cheerful if things were otherwise. Truly if we be not better shortly, I am afraid we shall be much worse than we have been; to-morrow will tell us more, and if there be any thing worth your hearing, I will send it to the Spa after you. I wish you a good journey, as far as you go, and that you may not have cause to travel very far. My service, with all kindness, to my good friend Mr. Honywood, who, without diminution of my thanks to you, I must suspect accessory to all kind offices done me by his friends.”

They appear to have continued at Geneva till about the middle of September. In the month of November, we find them at Venice;† in the following March, at Padua, where Mr. Sancroft entered his name as a student;‡ and

* Baker's MSS. at Cambridge, v. 34. p. 117.

† By two letters addressed to him there, bearing date Nov. 6th and 21st, 1659. See Harl. MSS. 3784. 97. 98.

‡ See a notice to this effect from a MS. volume in St. John's

in May* or June we learn that they were at Rome;† but through what places they passed, and at what periods, between these two cities, cannot be ascertained. They were resident in the latter city when the following letter‡ to Mr. Sancroft arrived, conveying the intelligence so conformable to his warmest desires, and so flattering to his most anxious hopes, of the favourable change which affairs had taken in England. The letter is written by Michael Honeywood, dated from the Hague, May 21, 1660.

After apologizing for his delay in writing, he proceeds—"Now all these apologies over, I could not but write though it is a hard task to sit still so long together, being all half mad with

College, Oxford: "William Sancroft, at Padua, entered a student, as appears by a testimonial signed by the Prorector and Syndic, 10th March, 1660." Gutch's *Miscell. Curiosa*, Pref. p. xxix.

* Leneve (see *Lives of Protestant Archbishops*) says, that on May 8, 1660, Mr. Sancroft was elected one of the University preachers at Cambridge. This I conceive to be a mistake. I have searched the University Registers, to which he refers for his authority, and I find no trace of such an appointment. The mistake may have arisen from observing that the name of William Sancroft, the uncle of the archbishop, appears in the list of preachers for 1618.

† See Mr. Wharton's MS. account of Archbishop Sancroft.

‡ Harl. MSS. 3784. 99.

over-joy of a sudden happiness befallen us by the recalling of his Majesty by both houses of parliament and the city of London, which (I doubt not but you have it from London better,) was upon our May-day, when, upon his Majesty's letters and declaration to them, brought by Sir John Greenville, all was done, absolutely, without treaty or propositions; six lords, twelve commoners, four aldermen, with the recorder, and nine more of the city, daily expected here to fetch him—too long to write, and not to be expressed the joy universally conceived. So you see (according to his late Majesty's prophecy at the end of his excellent book) *vota dederunt, quæ bella negarunt*; what worldly arms could not do, Christian arms, *preces et lacrymæ*, have done; God in his mercy hearing them, and making it his own work, without the help of man; *Deo gloria solique*. I hope now to be so happy as to see you and Mr. Gayer in England. God in heaven keep you both, and make us all thankful for this great blessing upon us and our miserable country."

It will readily be believed that the travellers lost no time, after the receipt of this most welcome intelligence, in effecting their return to England. The arrival of Mr. Sancroft seems to have been anxiously expected by his friends; and situations of credit and emolument awaited

his acceptance: amongst others,* a chaplaincy to a nobleman, with a handsome salary annexed, to which he was specially recommended as “a good scholar, a good preacher, and a pious man.” But his merits and his claims were of a higher description, and the change which had taken place opened the prospect of his obtaining those remunerations which were justly due to him. He arrived in England, probably† in the month of September or October.

* The following is an extract of a letter from the Bishop of Derry to a friend of Mr. Sancroft's, conveying this offer; dated Aug. 9, 1660. “The only occasion of my writing at present is, my Lady of Ormond spake to me to procure her a chaplain for my Lord Steward, to live in the house with them, that was a good scholar, a good preacher, and a pious man. I know no man fitter for that employment than our friend Mr. Sancroft, and I do not know an employment better deserving so good a man, either for present means or hopes. He shall have for his subsistence in present a donative without cure, of £400 per ann. and his hopes (even certain hopes) are what he will. I wish he were coming over; but if not, I pray you by your first letter give him a call: it is worth two Scotch calls. And withal be pleased to remember my service to Gayer and him. I wonder why they come not over.”

† The letter just quoted from the Bishop of Derry, written Aug. 9, expresses anxiety for his return; and another written to him in London, Nov. 20, (Harl. MSS. 3784. 202.) expresses the hope that he is “in good health, after his long and hasty journey.” Thus the precise time of his return may be variously conjectured between these two periods.

CHAPTER III.

FROM THE RESTORATION TO HIS ELEVATION TO
THE SEE OF CANTERBURY.

He is appointed Chaplain to Bishop Cosin—Sermon on the first Consecration of Bishops after the Restoration—Assists in the Revision of the Liturgy—Rapid Advancement in the Church—Made Prebendary of Durham—Dean of York—Master of Emanuel—Dean of St. Paul's—Archdeacon of Canterbury—Takes an important part in forwarding the rebuilding of St. Paul's Cathedral—Measures for the advantage of the Church—Unexpected elevation to the Primacy—Letter of Congratulation from the University of Cambridge.

MR. Sancroft, on his return to England, found the church, together with the monarchical form of government, happily restored. One of the earlier acts of King Charles's government was to fill up the vacancies which had occurred in the higher situations of the church; and Mr. Sancroft had the gratification of finding his venerable friend Dr. Cosin nominated, in recompense for his services, and for his sufferings, to the bishopric of Durham. This prelate lost no time in making the best return in his power for the favours he had received from Mr. Sancroft, and in paying, at the same time, a deserved tribute to his high character and talents, by

making him his domestic chaplain. In this capacity, Mr. Sancroft was selected to preach a sermon in Westminster Abbey, on Nov. 18th, at the consecration of his patron and six other new bishops.*

The sermon preached on this auspicious and remarkable occasion was published† by the express desire, as appears from the dedication, of Bishop Cosin. The dedication, drawn up in Latin, is distinguished for the concise neatness of the expression, and the judicious selection of topics of encomium on the prelate to whom it is addressed. The sermon must be read, like the greater part of the works of the divines of that period, with just allowances for the style of preaching then in vogue; according to which it was usual to make a number of minute and technical divisions of the subject, to introduce a mass of quotations and illustrations from the Fathers and the classical writers, and to employ images and modes of expression which, according to modern ideas, are scarcely suited to the dignity of the subject. With these allowances

* The seven bishops consecrated in Westminster Abbey at this early period after the Restoration, were John Cosin, Bishop of Durham; William Lucy, of St. David's; Benjamin Laney, of Peterborough; Hugh Lloyd, of Llandaff; Richard Stern, of Carlisle; Brian Walton, of Chester; John Gauden, of Exeter.

† See the Appendix.

for defects, if such they be, which are chargeable not on the writer so much as on the taste of the times in which he wrote, the sermon must be considered as affording no unfavourable specimen of the talents of the author; of the extent and variety of his learning; of his clear method of reasoning; occasionally too, of his powers of eloquent description. His representation of the church rising from her ruins under the image of the Phœnix rising from her funeral pile, has been particularly admired.

One of the most important works, in which the more eminent divines of the church were engaged soon after the Restoration, was the review and alteration of the Liturgy.

King Charles, as is known from the public histories of the time, having imbibed favourable ideas of the Presbyterians from the part which some of their leaders had taken at the Restoration, granted a commission, bearing date March 25th, 1661, for a certain number of the bishops, and an equal number of the Presbyterian divines, to meet and consult respecting the expediency of making such alterations in the Liturgy, as might obviate the objections of the Presbyterian party. At the conference which took place, well known under the name of the Savoy Conference, it was soon discovered that the divines of the latter party, so far from desiring only a few moderate alterations, would be sa-

tisfied with nothing less than such an alteration of the whole as would make it an entirely new work; and the commission expired without any thing being done. However, the episcopal divines, who met on this occasion, were satisfied in the result of the discussions, that some alterations in the book of Common Prayer were expedient, and they in consequence determined to bring the matter before the Convocation. The Convocation assembled on the 8th of May, 1661, and, after due deliberation, made considerable additions and alterations.*

* The following is the account of the alterations now made in the Liturgy, as given by Dr. Nichols.—See Preface to Common Prayer, p. x.

“ They began with the Office for the King’s Birth and Return, which was brought in the 16th of May, being their second session. On the 18th of May, their third session, they proceeded to the Office of Baptism for those of riper years. By December 20, the book was completed, and subscribed to by the members of both Houses.

“ The principal alterations which were made in this review, were these. Several lessons in the Calendar were changed for others more proper for the days. The prayers upon particular occasions were disjoined from the Liturgy. The prayer for the Parliament, that for all Conditions of Men, and the General Thanksgiving, were added; several of the Collects were altered; the Epistles and Gospels were taken out of the last translation of the Bible, they having been read before according to the old. The Offices for the Baptism of those of Riper Years, the Forms of Prayer to be used at Sea, the Form for the Mar-

It is well known that Mr. Sancroft was eminently useful* in assisting in these alterations, although it is not easy to ascertain on what particular parts of the work, or to what extent, his services were employed. As he was not a member of Convocation at the time, for he then held no preferments, his name does not appear among those† to whom the preparation of any

tyrdom of King Charles, and that for the King's Birth and Return, or, as it is now called, the Restoration of the Royal Family, were added. The book did not go to the press till some time after it was subscribed, the act of Uniformity for enacting it into a law taking up a considerable time. On the 8th of March following, Mr. Sandcroft, Mr. Scattergood, and Mr. Dillingham were appointed by the bishops supervisors of the press, when the book should be printed, as appears by an order of the Upper House of Convocation, bearing date that day."

* See Kennett's Ecclesiastical and Civil Register and Chronicle.—p. 632. Also Life of Bishop Sanderson.—p. 43.

† The following is an extract from one of the MSS. in the Lambeth library, (V. 577.) written with Archbishop Sancroft's hand, giving an account of the individuals employed in the alterations now made in the Liturgy, taken from the journals of the Lower House of Convocation. As those journals no longer exist, perhaps this is the only record remaining of the persons who were employed in the work.

" Out of the Journal of the Lower House of Convocation."

FR. MUNDIE, Actuary.

" 1661, May 16.—Chosen to attend the bishops at Elie House the next morning at eight o'clock, concerning a form of prayer for May 29th, the prolocutor and eight more, scilicet,

in May* or June we learn that they were at Rome;† but through what places they passed, and at what periods, between these two cities, cannot be ascertained. They were resident in the latter city when the following letter‡ to Mr. Sancroft arrived, conveying the intelligence so conformable to his warmest desires, and so flattering to his most anxious hopes, of the favourable change which affairs had taken in England. The letter is written by Michael Honeywood, dated from the Hague, May 21, 1660.

After apologizing for his delay in writing, he proceeds—"Now all these apologies over, I could not but write though it is a hard task to sit still so long together, being all half mad with

College, Oxford: "William Sancroft, at Padua, entered a student, as appears by a testimonial signed by the Prorector and Syndic, 10th March, 1660." Gutch's *Miscell. Curiosa*, Pref. p. xxix.

* Leneve (see *Lives of Protestant Archbishops*) says, that on May 8, 1660, Mr. Sancroft was elected one of the University preachers at Cambridge. This I conceive to be a mistake. I have searched the University Registers, to which he refers for his authority, and I find no trace of such an appointment. The mistake may have arisen from observing that the name of William Sancroft, the uncle of the archbishop, appears in the list of preachers for 1618.

† See Mr. Wharton's MS. account of Archbishop Sancroft.

‡ Harl. MSS. 3784. 99.

probably by the recommendation of Bishop Cosin, who bore a considerable share in this business, and in consequence of the confidence reposed in his talents, learning, and judgment.

However it is specially recorded that he assisted in rectifying the calendar and the rubrics,* and that, after the work was completed, he was one of those appointed by an order of the Upper House of Convocation for the supervision of the press. In the common accounts of his life, it is stated that he was

of Sarum (Dr. Bailie), the Dean of Wells (Dr. Creighton), Dr. Priaulx, Dr. Gulston, Dr. Preston, Dr. Rawley.

Doubts have been entertained respecting the persons who framed the prayer for the parliament, as it now stands in our liturgy; but these doubts are cleared up by the above cited extracts from the Convocation books, which show that the prayer was prepared and introduced for the approbation of the Convocation by "Dr. Pory, (then Archdeacon of Middlesex,) and the archbishop's other chaplains." The fact, however, is, that the prayer, though now for the first time introduced into the liturgy, was not entirely new. A prayer for the parliament, with the same beginning and ending, and particularly containing the expression, "our religious and gracious king," was inserted in a form of prayers put forth in the time and under the authority of Charles I. on the first breaking out of the troubles in 1628; and from this the prayer, which now forms part of the liturgy, was partly formed.

* See Kennett's Register, p. 574, 632.—The person principally employed in rectifying the calendar was Mr. Pell, a person of much various erudition, and a most acute mathematician, afterwards chaplain to Archbishop Sheldon.—See Kennett, *ibid.*

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the author of the Forms of Prayer prepared for the 30th of January and 29th of May. But this does not appear from any competent authority. Bishop Burnet gives a remarkable account of this matter: he states,* that when the new offices for the 30th of January and the 29th of May were under preparation, Sancroft drew them up in too high a strain; that those which he produced were in consequence rejected, and others of a more moderate character adopted in their room. He adds, that, afterwards, when Sancroft was advanced to the see of Canterbury, he procured the substitution of his own offices in the place of those formerly adopted, and got them “published by the king’s authority, at a time when so high a style as was in them did not sound well to the nation.”

As Burnet himself had no concern in the transaction, and does not state the authority from which he derived his information, it is impossible to ascertain in what degree there is any foundation for his representation. Two circumstances, however, should be mentioned to show that his statements are not strictly accurate. The first is, that, in the office for the

* See Burnet’s Own Times, in 1661.

30th of January, no alteration of the slightest importance was made when Sancroft held the primacy, or has been made at any period subsequently to the first preparation of it: for it stands now, with very immaterial exceptions, precisely in the same form as it did at first. The second is, that the office for the 29th of May, as it was adopted with alterations after the death of Charles II. and during the primacy of Archbishop Sancroft, could not have been precisely that which he first proposed but which was rejected. For the 29th day of May being the day of King Charles's birth, as well as of his return, the office during his life-time was adapted to both these events. After his death, alterations were necessarily required, in order to make the office commemorative solely of the restoration of the royal family. It is true that some further alterations and substitutions took place at this time; and perhaps it may be allowed that mention is made in the new office of the rebellion, and those concerned in it, in stronger terms than had been done in the former office, and this is probably the foundation of Burnet's assertion, that an office was adopted "of a higher strain." These alterations were of course made under Archbishop Sancroft's authority, although the fact

of their having been introduced by himself, rests only on the statement of Bishop Burnet.*

At an early period after the Restoration, Mr. Sancroft was distinguished by marks of royal favour. We find him holding the situation of one of the king's chaplains, to which he was probably appointed some time in 1661; and we trace him in residence at Whitehall performing

* In one of the prayers, in the present office for the Restoration of the Royal Family, is the following expression, which has been objected to from the studied alliteration: "Such workers of iniquity as turn religion into rebellion, and faith into faction." This expression, however, was not new, when first inserted in the Liturgy in Archbishop Sancroft's time, but was adopted from a work, called the Rebels' Catechism, published in 1643. The passage from which it is taken is as follows: "17. Quest. Is it not lawful to bear arms against sovereign princes for the preservation of religion? Answ. Yes, for those men who *place religion in rebellion, and whose faith is faction.*"—See the Rebels' Catechism, composed in an easy and familiar way, to let them see the heinousness of their offence, &c. 4to. p. 12. This Catechism is understood to have been composed by some of Charles's more eminent divines, among others, by Drs. Hammond and Gauden. Notwithstanding the opinion of Bishop Burnet, others have judged that the offices for January 30 and May 29, were improved under Archbishop Sancroft. "The forms for the 30th of January and 29th of May were altered much for the better by Archbishop Sancroft, and some others, in James the Second's reign."—See Case of a Rector refusing to preach a Visitation Sermon, &c. by John Johnson, Vicar of Cranbrook. London. 1721.

the duties of it in 1663.* He probably retained the situation till higher preferments called upon him to resign it. In 1662 he was recommended by royal mandate to the degree of doctor in divinity at Cambridge; the mandate† expressly reciting his loyalty and good affection during the late unhappy commotions, and adding that, on account of his intending shortly to remove into remoter parts, he could not, without great inconvenience, attend the usual forms.

* Two letters, preserved in the Harleian Collection (MSS. 3784. 18, 164), are addressed to him in attendance on his Majesty at his Majesty's Closet at Whitehall, bearing date in January, 1663.

† The following is part of the King's letter on this occasion: "Whereas William Sancroft, B. D. and one of our chaplains in ordinary, was, during the late unhappy and unnatural commotions, for his loyalty and good affection expressed all along unto us and our interests, ejected out of his fellowship of Emanuel college in that our University, the local statutes of which college had otherwise obliged him long since to have taken the degree of D. D.; and whereas, besides the month of his ordinary attendance on our person, he hath, both before and after the same, been employed in our especial service, which he hath discharged to our satisfaction, and is now upon his necessary occasions to remove into the remoter parts of this our kingdom, so that he neither could, nor yet can, without great inconvenience, attend the usual forms and method of academical promotions: We do therefore recommend, &c."—It bears date March 15, 1661-2. See Kennett's Ecclesiastical Register, p. 647.

It was his friend and patron, the Bishop of Durham, who tempted him to a residence in a remote part of the kingdom, by collating him to some valuable preferments in that diocese, viz. the rectory of Houghton le Spring, and a canonry in the cathedral church. He was instituted to the former, December 7, 1661; and installed in the latter, March 11, 1661-2.*

Houghton seems to have been on all accounts a most desirable benefice. Writing to his brother,† Mr. Sancroft speaks of it as “one of the best livings in that country, in the pleasantest and healthfulest part of the diocese.” He adds, “the revenue is competent and fair; and there is nothing to be wished amended, but that it stands so far from the sun and my dearest relations.”

Many of Bishop Cosin's letters, written to him about this period, happen to be preserved. The following extract‡ gives an interesting account of his first reception in his diocese:

“Durham, August 22, 1661.

“I received yours of August 13, immediately after my solemn reception into the church, and singing the Te Deum there, wherein there was nothing wanting but your assistance. The

* See Hutchinson's History of Durham.

† Tann. MSS. 49. 181.

‡ Harl. MSS. 3783. 187.

confluence and alacrity both of the gentry, clergy, and other people, was very great; and, at my first entrance through the river of Tease, there was scarce any water to be seen for the multitude of boats and men that filled it, when the sword that killed the dragon was delivered to me with all the formality of trumpets and gunshots and acclamations that might be made. I am not much affected with such shows; but, however, the cheerfulness of the country in the reception of their bishop is a good earnest given for better matters, which, by the grace and blessing of God, may in good time follow here among us all."

The two following letters allude to an important part of Dr. Sancroft's private history, his attachment to a certain "gentlewoman," whose name is not mentioned, and with whom it may be inferred, from the terms of the letters, he appears to have entertained for a time some serious thoughts of engaging in a matrimonial contract. Nothing further is known respecting this affair; only the fact is certain, that, notwithstanding the strong recommendations of his patron, he maintained to the last the resolution which, it appears, he had then taken, of continuing to live in a state of celibacy.

“ Durham, August 23, 1661.

“ SIR,*

“ Your letter of August 20, came to me after the other of mine was gone to the post. I have but little time to add and say more, than that I shall be glad to welcome you into my diocese with a canonry of Durham and the rectory of Houghton, which, if Dr. Warwick and Mr. Triplet leave them, will be only in my donation. You may assure yourself and my Lord of London, that I will bestow the prebendary and the parsonage upon you, presupposing that you will continue my household chaplain at Aukland till you have made the prebendal house at Durham (which is much ruined) fit for your better reception. I pray tell the gentlewoman, whom you name in the end of your letter, that I take her message and acknowledgment sent to me very kindly from her; of whom I have a very good opinion; and, if you have so too, I think you cannot choose a better companion and housekeeper, both at Houghton and Durham, than so virtuous a person, as she is, is like to make, if you would take his judgment, who is

“ Your affectionate friend, &c.

“ JOHN DUNELME.”

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 188.

“ Durham, September 3, 1661.*

“ That virtuous person, whom we have now twice mentioned, I think will make a good companion for you and your sister both. The great care and affection you have for her, and the just regard that she hath again of you, may in good time prevail with you to alter your resolution, which you formerly had, to live single; but do as you think fit to do, and as God shall incline your mind. In the meanwhile, I take not the difficulties which you mention to be invincible either on her part or much considerable on the part of them on whom you say she depends; and truly there cannot be a greater act of charity done for her, than to take her out of the danger, wherein she lives, and prevent her falling into the fire. But I am not to press you further than your own inclination in a matter of this nature. I am glad you will be with me about Michaelmas, and then we may discourse more of it if you please.”

His residence in the county of Durham did not continue for more than a few months: yet, during that period, he gave proof of his diligence and of his inquiring turn of mind, in making considerable researches and collections respecting the antiquities of the county. Of

* Harleian MSS. 3783. 189.

the notes which he left relative to this subject, use has been subsequently made in framing a history of Durham.*

But he was soon after summoned back to the bosom of that Alma Mater from which he had been violently expelled about eleven years before. A vacancy having occurred in the mastership of his own college, Emanuel, he was elected by the fellows, on the 14th of August, 1662, to fill that situation. This appointment must have been owing entirely to the high estimation in which his character was held; for, as he states himself, "it was quite unexpected, and he knew nobody in the college, his acquaintance being quite worn out." His friends indeed seem to have looked forward with hope to such an event some time before: a letter is extant, addressed to him from Thomas Smith at Christ's college, dated November 2, 1660, in which he gives this remarkable account of the state of the college, showing that the puritanical party were very powerful there: "In your college half the society are for the liturgy and half against it, so it is read one week, and the directory used another; but till the directory be laid aside, I believe no surplices will be worn;" and then

* See Hutchinson's History of Durham, vol. ii. p. 206.

adds, "I wish to be so happy as to see you head of it."*

The higher preferments which awaited him, and which flowed upon him in rapid succession, did not permit him to retain the mastership of the college longer than three years. No circumstances of note are recorded during the time that he filled this situation; only it is stated generally† that he governed the house with much prudence and affability. There happens, however, to be preserved a letter‡

* The following letter addressed to him from the Bishop of London, implies, that there existed some obstacles to his entering on the mastership of Emanuel; but of what nature they were is wholly unknown :

"TO THE REV. AND MY WORTHY FRIEND, DR. SANCROFT,
PREBENDARY OF THE CHURCH OF DURHAM.

"Durham, Sept. 20, 1662.

"SIR,

"I am sorry there are such bars against your entering into Emanuel college; we must remove them for you the best way we can, and you ought not to decline this opportunity of doing that college and university service. I will set about it as soon as I can, and you shall receive an account of what is done from your affectionate friend,

"WILL. LONDON."

† Leneve's Lives of the Bishops.

‡ See Cole's MSS. in the British Museum. 59. p. 275.

Mr. Cole makes the following note. "The following letters and papers were lent to me by my esteemed friend, Dr. Farmer, Master of Emanuel college, and Chancellor of Lichfield, 1781.

which he wrote while master of the college to his former tutor, Mr. Ezekiel Wright, which is curious and valuable, as exhibiting his feelings respecting the existing state of that college and the university, and showing the strong interest he took in the promotion of learning and of sound principles of religion.

“ Emanuel College, January 17, 1663.

“ REV. SIR, MY EVER HONOURED TUTOR,

“ I beg your pardon that your very friendly and obliging letter hath lain so long in my hands unanswered. I was, when you wrote it, in Suffolk (where I had been but once these last seven years, and that above two years since), and found it about a week after at Cambridge, as I passed by towards London, whither many occasions called me. In the mean time I have read it oft with great contentment, and after all this long demur find it difficult to express, how much I value both the affection and the wisdom of it. In earnest, Sir, I never pleased myself more in the relation I once had

The first is an original letter of Archbishop Sancroft, to Mr. Ezekiel Wright, father to Sir Nathaniel Wright, Lord Keeper of the Seals. It is in the Archbishop's small black writing, and had a seal of red wax, which is torn off. Directed “ For the Rev. my honoured friend, Mr. Ezekiel Wright, B. D. and rector of Thurcaston, in Leicestershire.”

to you, nor had ever more need to be your pupil than now. Beyond all my expectation I am come back to the college, where I knew nobody at all, my acquaintance being wholly worn out; or rather, I am come into a new college, quite another thing from what I, and much more what you, left it. 'Tis true, in some regards the change is such that I cannot but thank God for it: there being neither faction amongst us, nor disaffection to the government of church or state, but a general outward conformity to what is established by law, and, I hope, true principles of duty and obedience deep laid within, and a chearful readiness to take off all the instances of that former singularity which rendered us heretofore so unhappily remarkable.*

“ 'Tis with regret and reluctancy that I turn my eye upon our defects and our infelicities; and I had rather make them the matter of a free conference, than bring them upon paper; yet into your bosom, Sir, I shall, I hope, have leave to pour them, and assure myself that, as few will apprehend them as well as you, none is able to advise more apt and proper remedies.

“ I complain not that the throng is not so

* Emanuel college seems to have been long noted for the puritanical principles which had prevailed there. See Dr. Salter's Preface to Whichcote's Aphorisms.

great about us as it was (especially reflecting what it was that drew the many hither).—Blessed is the barren and the miscarrying womb, rather than she that is always teeming and drawing forth her breasts to the children of disobedience. May we be desert and wilderness all over, rather than send forth such unhappy swarms and colonies as we did in this age of sorrow; which were so many and so numerous that the stock is decayed at home, and we have none in the college capable of succeeding to our vacant fellowships. By the end of this week I shall have elected, since I returned hither, seven fellows, but most of them from abroad; so that half the society are foreigners; and yet worse; the eminent elsewhere will not be wooed to look towards us, having fairer invitations at home: they come sooner by two years (in standing, and many years in age) to their fellowships, than we; and without that rigid examen, which frights some from us: they keep them longer (being perpetuities) than we ours, which are thought to be but for a term; and which is most considerable, ours, while they have them, are not so well worth the owning; the statutable allowance being so miserably scant, that if the crowd fail us, (as now it doth,) you know very well, Sir, they afford not a competent subsistence: so that we

are glad to accept of such as tender themselves; and forced to serve ourselves of his Majesty's grace and favour, for the removing of some lesser incapacities (of age and country) in a person otherwise fitly qualified for the main; and glad to be so eased, where our over rigorous statutes pinch us. And then for scholarships, they are so many, and so few to fill them, that there is never any competition; the golden spur of emulation is lost, and few will study hard to obtain that to which a little proportion of learning will bring them.

“It would grieve you to hear of our public examinations; the Hebrew and Greek learning being out of fashion everywhere, and especially in the other colleges, where we are forced to seek our candidates for fellowships; and the rational learning they pretend to being neither the old philosophy, nor steadily any one of the new. In fine, though I must do the present society right, and say, that divers of them are very good scholars, and orthodox (I believe) and dutiful both to king and church; yet methinks I find not that old genius and spirit of learning generally in the college that made it once so deservedly famous; nor shall I hope to retrieve it any way sooner, than by your directions who lived here in the most flourishing times of it.

“For my part, after many sad thoughts spent

in this argument, I am come to a persuasion, (which I shall in confidence acquaint you with, it not being fit for every ear,) that 'tis impossible for this college ever to flourish again (unless by the old arts, and so I had rather see it sink to the ground), till the fellowships and scholarships be made competent and liberal allowances, either by increase of our revenue, or by sinking of some of our number into the rest; and (*ut adhuc majora canamus*) till the body of our statutes be changed, which, if it may not be done, I see not but we are remediless: yet these are the last refuges, and we will not be wanting to ourselves in attempting all other methods.

“ I am clearly convinced of what you wisely and solidly suggest concerning the pretended statute (for truly I cannot look upon it, as of the same authority with the rest) *de morâ sociorum*. Something I had done in it before you wrote. The king's suspension of that statute is, for aught I can learn, lost during these last times; you will easily guess how; but I have recovered both the first draught of it under my Lord of Ely's own hand, (whom the king appointed to pen it,) and a copy of it which I found amongst my uncle Dr. Sancroft's papers, and have preserved it ever since. If I cannot inquire out the original, I will, if I live,

get it to pass the seal once more; to facilitate which, I desire, Sir, you would furnish me with your copy, if you have one, and with what memoirs you have besides concerning that whole affair.

“ I am now in pursuit of Dr. Holdsworth’s numerous library; and though the University has long since swallowed it in a general expectation, yet, having lately got a sight of his private directions to his executors, and consulted both lawyers and several of my lords the Bishops, and the executors themselves thereupon, I doubt not at all the right will prove to be ours: provided that we erect a case or room fit to receive them; the condition upon which he gave them us. For the performance whereof, and also for the removing that great mark of singularity, which all the world so talks of, in the unusual prospect and dress of the chapel, (different from that of other colleges), I have it in design to make both a new library and chapel too; and, as for the manner of contriving both, I would gladly receive your particular opinion; so I must be forced to beg the charitable and liberal assistance of all that have been members of it, and yours, Sir, especially, who wert once so great an ornament and now so true a lover of it.

“ I am going very suddenly into the north

when this election is past, and shall not return thence till Michaelmas; but, either going or coming, I will endeavour to wait on you at your own house: and judge by what I have written, how I shall importune and tire you with my discourse concerning Emanuel College. But, Sir, a goodness like your's, will pardon both, and incline you to continue the benefit of your prayers, as to the whole college, so particularly to him, who will always rejoice to write himself,

“ Rev. Sir,

“ Your most observant Pupil,

“ and very humble Servant,

“ W. SANCROFT.”

The shortness of the period, during which Dr. Sancroft held the mastership of Emanuel College, precluded him from carrying into effect any advantageous plans of improvement. He prepared, however, the design of a new chapel, which was afterwards completed under his successors; and he gave proof of his munificence, as well as of his goodwill to the college, by contributing nearly £600 for the erection.*

On the 3d of January, 166 $\frac{3}{4}$,† he was nominated by the king to the deanery of York; and

* See Registers of the College.

† Wharton's MSS. from the Archbishop's notes.

having been elected by the chapter on the 23d of that month, he was installed by proxy on the 26th of the following February. He retained this situation only for the short space of ten months, and appears to have found it no lucrative preferment;* for it is stated that he expended, in building and other charges, £200 more than he received. He was enabled, however, during the short period he held this preferment, to † render considerable service to the cathedral church; for, having found the accounts in a state of confusion, he brought them into order, and made out a correct rental.

Towards the close of the same year, 1664, the deanery of St. Paul's fell vacant by the death of Dr. Barwick, and the king showed his further favour to Dr. Sancroft by conferring on him that more lucrative preferment. He was elected to it on the 10th of November, and installed on the 10th of the following month. About the same time he was appointed to the

* G. Davenport, in a letter addressed to him April 9, 1664, says—"You give a sad account of your deanery: I never thought it better; make much of Durham."—In another, the same correspondent says, "You are about to pay the York first fruits; another man would let the deanery be sequestered for them. It was an unfortunate deanery for you."—Harl. MSS. 3783. 137. 141.

† Leneve's Lives of the Bishops.

prebend of Oxgate in the same cathedral, and elected a residentiary, having been installed in that situation the day preceding his installation in the deanery.

A stronger proof can scarcely be afforded of the general estimation in which his character was held, than by the fact of so many preferments flowing upon him, in this short space of time, from so many various quarters. It appears that Sheldon, Archbishop of Canterbury, and Henchman, Bishop of London, were warmly interested in his success, and used their interest with the crown in assisting his advancement.* Between the latter of these, and Dr. San-

* The two following letters, written by the Bishop of London to Dr. Sancroft, at the time of his promotion to the deanery of St. Paul's, happen to be preserved in the Harleian Collection. See v. 378. 107, 109.

“ October 22d.

“ This day the Dean of St. Paul's deceased; tomorrow I attend at Whitehall in hope to obtain that you may succeed. Do not think of relinquishing any thing but your deanery, until you receive directions from my Lord of Canterbury. God preserve you.

“ Your most affectionate Friend,

“ HUMFR. LONDON.”

“ London House, October 25th.

“ In my last I gave you notice, that the Dean of St. Paul's deceased on Saturday last; now I tell you that his

croft, considerable intimacy appears to have subsisted.

On the occasion of his appointment to the deanery of St. Paul's, we find him writing to his brother in the following terms.*

“ London, December 5, 1664.

“ It is a very royal bounty of his Majesty (whose hands I kissed yesterday, and thanked him for this last favour) to bestow two such deaneries as York and St. Paul's upon me in the compass of a few months, which I will study to deserve by the best service I can do. I was almost settled at York, having furnished my house in great part, and spent £100 in the repairs of it, and might have justly hoped by Midsummer, with the expense of as much money more, to have made such a dwelling of it, as I am never like to be owner of again. I had also much encouragement from the good affections of the city, which here it will be much harder to gain, there being such diversity

Majesty has most graciously appointed you to succeed him in this church. My Lord of Canterbury adviseth you to hasten hither as soon as your occasions will permit, and I desire the same.”

There exist in the Harleian Collection above forty letters from this Bishop of London to Dr. Sancroft.

* Tann. MSS. 47. 377.

of humours, and those so nice too, among them. The revenue indeed is here something better, but the expense more and the burthen of business very great; I trust God will enable me to go through with it. I am a loser by the deanery of York, and it will be some time (if ever) ere I can be a gainer by this, here being a house to be bought and built and furnished, first fruits and subsidies, and new charges, I fear, coming. Only one comfort is, that now I shall sit down, and may justly be confident that my next remove will be to the grave."

In addition to these London preferments, he appears to have retained for some time his prebendal stall at Durham.* He resigned the mastership of Emanuel College a few months after his appointment to the deanery of St. Paul's,† probably from finding that the various

* This appears from a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 55.) dated January 11th, 166⁵/₆, addressed to him as Dean of St. Paul's and Prebendary of Durham, at Durham.

† The following is part of a letter (Harl. MSS. 3783. 8.) written to Dr. Sancroft by Robert Alfounder, apparently a fellow of Emanuel College, dated Trinity Evening, 1665.

" SIR,

" On Thursday last I came to Cambridge, where I met with your unexpected and (with your pardon) unwelcome resignation: but there was not any interregnum,—for at the same

duties which now devolved upon him prevented his devoting as much time and attention as he desired to those of his academical station.

If, in succeeding to the deanery of St. Paul's, Dr. Sancroft came to a well endowed preferment, he came to the superintendence of an edifice which had miserably fallen into decay. The very ancient cathedral church of the metropolis had long been extremely ruinous, and, during the barbarous transactions of the civil wars and the republican times, if it was not purposely damaged,* yet nothing was done to preserve it from the injuries of weather; and, in consequence, it suffered that increase of dilapidation

time we received and obeyed his Majesty's commands for a successor. Sir, we are all, I think, very well satisfied with the royal choice for us, and dare not expect any thing but good from it. This, I think, was the only way to preserve unity among us, and to satisfy ourselves and other our friends abroad. It is easier to obey than to chuse.'—

Dr. Sancroft was succeeded in the mastership of Emanuel College by Dr. Breton.

* The cathedral church was undergoing repairs, when, in 1643, the revenues belonging to the dean and chapter were seized by the parliament, together with the materials and money prepared for the repairs. It was afterwards used as a barrack and horse-quarter for soldiers; and the scaffolding in the interior being taken away for their accommodation, part of the roof fell in at different times.—See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's, p. 146-7.

which the mere neglect of proper repairs always entails on ancient buildings. Accordingly, the new dean immediately set himself to husband the resources of the church with the most prudent economy, with a view to the substantial reparation or restoration of the edifice.

But the heavy calamities which befel the metropolis very soon after the commencement of Dr. Sancroft's public duties as dean of the metropolitan church, first interrupted the prosecution of his designs, and afterwards directed them in a new course. The great plague, as it is termed, broke out in London in May, 1665, about five months after he had taken possession of the deanery; and the danger of fatal infection was so pressing, that all who had the means of removing into other parts, availed themselves of them with as little delay as possible. Dr. Sancroft, as appears from the superscription of letters addressed to him,* fixed his residence during the time of danger at Tunbridge Wells.† In the year succeeding the

* See several letters in Harleian MSS. 3783.

† The following is part of a letter directed to him at Tunbridge Wells, from Peter Barwick, brother of the late dean, who appears to have been a medical man. The imputation of a want of charity towards his distressed neighbours, to which it alludes, as having been cast by some persons on Dr. Sancroft, is

plague,* the great fire of London broke out, which destroyed the greater part of the city. The ancient cathedral of St. Paul's shared the common fate; it was miserably damaged and shattered by the fire; and, although a part

one which, as the whole course of his life shows, must have been very undeserved. It is dated August 5th, 1665.

“MR. DEAN,

“Give me leave to discharge the part of a friend and to tell you what I hear, though perhaps of no great moment. It will be no news to tell you (for you will surely imagine it) that the mouths of a slanderous generation are wide enough open against those that are withdrawn, both of your profession and ours: but one of my neighbours told me, (who I think indeed wishes well both to you and to your church,) that it was wondered that you should go, and not leave any thing that they had heard of, behind you for your poor neighbours. I told him that, in what cases it was lawful to go, was not in the skill of every one to determine; but, as for your going to the Wells, you had resolved it, and by my advice, long before any plague was heard of; and as for your charity to the poor, I knew that you had given a considerable sum to a parish.”—See Harleian MSS. 3783. 19.

* Evelyn says, in his *Memoirs*, (v. i. p. 371.) that on the 27th of August, 1666, he went with Dr. Wren, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Paul's and others, to survey the general decay of the cathedral church; that, among other things, they determined, that it was necessary to take down the existing steeple,—and they had a mind to build in its place a noble cupola, “a form of church building not as yet known in England, but of wonderful grace,” for which purpose they formed a plan and estimate.—On the 3d of September following, the fire broke out, which levelled the whole with the ground.

was left standing, yet the roof fell in with great force, and broke through the vaults below.

This extensive calamity, following so soon upon the other, filled the whole nation with grief and consternation. It was felt as a sore judgment, specially sent by God to visit the sins of the people, and a day of public humiliation was appointed, for the purpose of imploring his mercy, and averting, by national prostration, his further displeasure. Dr. Sancroft, who was so immediately connected with the scenes of both these disasters, was, with peculiar propriety, appointed to preach before the king on the occasion. He performed this office with great ability, and to the satisfaction of the king, who commanded that the sermon should be printed.*

From repairing an old and decayed church, Dr. Sancroft's attention and exertions were now to be directed to the more important design of erecting a new one; and it seems to have been owing at least as much to him as to any single individual, that the plan was ultimately adopted of erecting a proud and noble structure worthy of that great metropolis, of which it has ever since been the most distinguished ornament,

* See the Appendix.

under an architect who did honour to the age and country in which he lived.

At first, indeed, owing probably to the poverty of the nation under the recent calamity, it was designed to fit up a part of the ruined church for divine service, as a temporary expedient, till means could be found of either making a thorough reparation of the whole, or of erecting a new building.* This design was proceeded on for nearly two years. It was found, on inspection, that the part of the church near the west end could with least expense be made serviceable for the intended purpose. Accordingly, workmen were employed in clearing away the rubbish, taking down the remainder of the vaulted roof and walls, digging up the floors, and in other works of this description: they afterwards began to case the great and massy pillars which stood between the middle and side aisles; but they had not proceeded far before they found that these pillars, together with the walls that remained, were so weak and unsound, in consequence of the fire, as to be utterly incapable of any substantial repair. The following letter from the Dean to Dr. afterwards Sir Christopher Wren, gives an account of the unsuccessful result of this first attempt.

* See Wren's Parentalia.

*To my worthy Friend, Dr. Christopher Wren,
Professor of Astronomy in Oxford.*

“ April 25, 1668.

“ SIR,

“ As he said of old, *Prudentia est quædam divinatio*, so science (at the height you are master of it) is prophetic too. What you whispered in my ear at your last coming hither, is now come to pass. Our work at the west end of St. Paul's is fallen about our ears. Your quick eye discerned the walls and pillars gone off from their perpendiculars, and I believe other defects too, which are now exposed to every common observer.

“ About a week since, we being at work about the third pillar from the west end on the south side, which we had new cased with stone, where it was most defective almost up to the chapitre, a great weight falling from the high wall, so disabled the vaulting of the side-aisle by it, that it threatened a sudden ruin, so visibly, that the workmen presently removed, and the next night the whole pillar fell, and carried scaffolds and all to the very ground.

“ The second pillar (which you know is bigger than the rest) stands now alone, with an enormous weight on the top of it; which we cannot hope should stand long, and yet we dare not venture to take it down.

“ This breach has discovered to all that look on it, two great defects in Inigo Jones’s work; one, that his new case of stone in the upper walls (massy as it is) was not set upon the upright of the pillars, but upon the core of the groins of the vaulting; the other, that there were no key-stones at all to tie it to the old work; and, all this being very heavy with the Roman ornaments on the top of it, and being already so far gone outwards, cannot possibly stand long. In fine, it is the opinion of all men, that we can proceed no farther at the west end. What we are to do next, is the present deliberation, in which you are so absolutely and indispensably necessary to us, that we can do nothing, resolve on nothing, without you.

“ It is, therefore, that, in my Lord of Canterbury’s name, and by his order, (already, I suppose, intimated to you by the Dean of Christ-Church,) we most earnestly desire your presence and assistance with all possible speed.

“ You will think fit, I know, to bring with you those excellent draughts and designs you formerly favoured us with; and, in the mean time, till we enjoy you here, consider what to advise that may be for the satisfaction of his Majesty and the whole nation, an obligation

so great and so public, that it must be acknowledged by better hands than those of

“ Your affectionate Friend
and Servant,
“ W. SANCROFT.”

The design of repairing the old structure was now necessarily abandoned; and the attention of those concerned was exclusively directed to the best method of preparing an entirely new erection, on a scale of suitable grandeur. The following letter of Dr. Sancroft, addressed to Dr. Wren and containing a further invitation to him to meet the dignitaries of the church for the purpose of consulting on the subject, conveys their very judicious determination to fix at once on a design of such magnificence as became the metropolis of the British empire, in the confidence that funds would sooner or later be obtained for carrying it into effect, rather than to consider, in the first instance, what money they could afford, and to proportion to it the scale on which they should proceed.

To Dr. Wren, at Oxford.

Dated London, July 2d, 1668.

“ SIR,

“ Yesterday, my Lords of Canterbury, London, and Oxford met on purpose to hear

your letter read once more, and to consider what is now to be done, in order to the repairs of St. Paul's. They unanimously resolved that it is fit immediately to attempt something, and that without you they can do nothing.

“ I am therefore commanded to give you an invitation hither in his Grace's name, and the rest of the commissioners, with all speed, that we may prepare something to be proposed to his Majesty, (the design of such a choir at least as may be a congruous part of a greater and more magnificent work to follow,) and then for the procuring contributions to defray this we are so sanguine as not to doubt of it, if we could but once resolve what we would do, and what that would cost. So that the only part of your letter we demur to, is the method you propound of declaring first what money we would bestow, and then designing something just of that expense: for quite otherwise—the way their lordships resolve upon, is to frame a design handsome and noble, and suitable to all the ends of it, and to the reputation of the city and the nation; and to take it for granted that money will be had to accomplish it; or, however, to let it lie by, till we have before us a prospect of so much as may reasonably encourage us to begin.

“ Thus far I thought good to prepare you for

what will be said to you when you come, that you may not be surprised with it; and, if my summons prevail not, my lord the Bishop of Oxford hath undertaken to give it you warmer, ore tenus, the next week, when he intends to be with you, if at least you be not come towards us before he arrives; which would be a very agreeable surprise to us all, and especially to

“Your very affectionate,

“humble Servant,

“W. SANCROFT.”

The result of the consultations on the subject was the determination to accept Sir Christopher Wren's noble design of building the church on the present scale of magnificence. The funds for the purpose were provided partly by private subscription, and partly by an act of parliament, called the Coal Act, which prescribed that a certain sum for the purpose should be levied on every chaldron of coals brought to the port of London. In the private subscription Dr. Sancroft bore a distinguished part, for he subscribed no less than £1400* in addition to the part which he bore in the

* He appears to have subscribed £100 annually after he was Archbishop of Canterbury, in addition to his contributions when he was Dean of St. Paul's.—See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's.

liberal contributions from the general funds belonging to the dean and chapter. And it is related that it was principally owing to his exertions and management that the Coal Act was carried through the legislature.

The first stone of the new cathedral was laid in 1675,* under the superintendence of Dr. Sancroft as dean. He was not permitted, it is true, to enjoy the singular good fortune in which both the architect, Sir Christopher Wren, and Dr. Compton, bishop of the diocese, partook; that of witnessing the progress of the structure from its commencement to its final completion in 1710. But still, he had the gratification of seeing it rise to a considerable stage of advancement; for it is related† that, so early as the year 1685, ten years after its commencement, the edifice was in very forward state; the walls of the choir and side aisles were at that time finished, together with the circular north and south porticos; and the great pillars of the dome were carried to the same height.

But the Dean's attention and exertions were not confined to the Cathedral church. The deanery-house had suffered by the wide-spreading calamity, and he had to consider the means

* Wren's Parentalia, p. 292.

† Ibid.

of rebuilding it without burthening himself personally with too heavy a charge. With this view,* he procured an act of parliament, which enabled him, with the consent of the Lord Keeper and the Bishop of London, to lease out a portion of the ground connected with the site, on which shops and other tenements had formerly stood, for the term of sixty years, on the condition that, before September 30, 1673, he should lay out the sum of £2500 in building a commodious deanery-house and premises, himself and his heirs being thereby discharged from dilapidations. In pursuance of this act he entered into a bond to build at the above-mentioned cost; and he was released from the bond, as having completed the work, Dec. 20, 1670.

In the year 1668, he was appointed to another ecclesiastical dignity, the Archdeaconry of Canterbury, on the presentation of the crown; but he retained it only two years. He was probably induced to resign it, by finding that he was precluded, by the other demands on his time, from properly attending to its duties.

While Dr. Sancroft occupied the deanery of St. Paul's, in addition to the diligent attention which he paid to his immediate duties, he embraced every opportunity of effecting what

* See the Register of the Dean of St. Paul's.

was conducive to the interests of the church and of religion in general. In one instance, he had an opportunity, about this period, of evincing his desire of augmenting the revenues of the poorer benefices; an object, which he kept steadily in his view in his subsequent elevation to the primacy; and which he was then enabled to prosecute with greater effect. The instance alluded to is the vicarage of Sandon, in Hertfordshire, of which he was the patron, the impropriate tithes forming part of the revenues of his deanery. For the purpose of augmenting this vicarage, he purchased a fee farm rent issuing out of the church of Lichfield, and settled it on the vicar; he further granted out of the impropriate tithes a rent charge of £20 per ann. in augmentation of the vicarage for ever.*

Another object, beneficial to the church, which he effected while Dean of St. Paul's, was the erection of the hamlet of St. Paul's Shadwell into a separate rectory. The property of this parish was vested in him as dean; it formed part of the parish of Stepney; but, of late, the population, both in this hamlet and in the other parts of the parish of Stepney, had increased to such an extent, that the parish church was totally insufficient for the inhabi-

* See Chauncey's History of Hertfordshire, &c.

tants. In consequence, principally through the interest and exertions of the Dean, an act of parliament was procured in the year 1670, which made it a separate parish; the fabric of a church which had been built some time before was made the parish church, and an endowment was appointed for the minister. The Dean gave up a piece of his estate for the church-yard, the rectorial house, and other tenements, which were built by him or his lessee.*

It does not appear that Dr. Sancroft was engaged in any literary work, during his occupation of the deanery of St. Paul's, except, indeed, one on which he was employed by Archbishop Sheldon, but in which very little progress was made at the time. Archbishop Sheldon had procured† from the possession of Prynne the papers of Archbishop Laud, and particularly a copy of his Diary, which had been seized as part of the plunder from his house at the time of his imprisonment, and was afterwards lost sight of. Thinking that they were of a sufficiently interesting nature to engage the attention of the public, he consigned them to Dr. Sancroft, expressing the wish that he would undertake the care of publishing them with all convenient

* Newcourt's History of the Diocese of London, v. i. 708.

† See Wharton's Preface to Archbishop Laud's Diary.

speed. Dr. Sancroft, on examination of the copy of the Diary, found it so extremely vicious that he deemed it unfit for publication, and thought it advisable to wait till the original might be found. After some considerable search it was discovered lurking in St. John's College at Oxford. A further protraction of the publication took place from a difference of opinion respecting the language in which the Diary should be published. Laud had expressed a wish that it should be published in Latin; and Archbishop Sheldon's opinion was, that this wish should be complied with; but the Dean thought that the Diary would be more useful if published in English: however, he properly yielded to the authority of the metropolitan, and a civilian was procured to translate the law terms into Latin. In this stage of the business, Archbishop Sheldon died; and Dr. Sancroft, succeeding to his high situation, became so involved in public business as to have no leisure to proceed in the undertaking. It will afterwards appear that he did not resume the work till some time after his retirement from the archbishopric; that the illness which terminated his life surprised him in the midst of it; and that, on his death-bed, he consigned the papers to the care of his chaplain, Mr. Wharton, who, soon afterwards, prepared them for the press.

It was towards the close of the year 1677, on the decease of Archbishop Sheldon, that Dr. Sancroft was, very unexpectedly to himself and to the public, raised to the archiepiscopal chair of Canterbury. He was holding, at the time of his elevation, the situation of prolocutor of the Lower House of Convocation.

It is the most probable supposition that he did not owe his exaltation in any great degree, if at all, to private favour or recommendations, but principally, or entirely to his character, which pointed him out as the person best qualified to adorn the station, and to support its dignity. It is stated, and probably with truth, in a narrative of his life,* that his zeal, candour and learning, his exemplary behaviour in a lower state, his public spirit in so many scenes of life, his constancy in suffering, his unbiassed deportment, all concurred to recommend him as a fit governor of the church in that turbulent age.

Bishop Burnet, who catches most eagerly at every opportunity of lowering the character of Sancroft, insinuates that he was elevated to the primacy, not on account of his fitness for

* See Lives of English Bishops, by Nathanael Salmon.—
p. 60.

the station, but of his want of proper qualifications for it. His words are,* that several things “made the court conclude that he was a man who might be entirely gained to serve their ends; or, at least, that he would be an inactive speculative man, and give little opposition to any thing they might attempt.” His meaning manifestly is, that those who promoted his elevation, intended, by so doing, to place, for their own sinister purposes, a feeble person at the helm of the church.

Anthony Wood† affirms distinctly, but without alleging any authority, that Dr. Sancroft’s pretensions were favoured by the Duke of York, and the popish party; and assigns as the motive of their conduct, the desire of excluding Compton, Bishop of London, who was much spoken of for the situation, and who was very obnoxious to them. In matters of this nature it is seldom possible to attain to a correct knowledge of the truth: for it rarely happens that recommendations which are made in

* See Burnet’s Own Times, v. i. 392.

† See Life of A. Wood, written by himself. Dr. Kennett, it should be mentioned, also states that the appointment was made by the recommendation of the Duke of York.—See Kennett’s History, v. iii. 361.

the interior of a royal closet, are disclosed truly to the public. If, however, it be a fact that the Duke of York was instrumental in promoting Dr. Sancroft's elevation, it is far more probable that he did so, from a preference of him to Bishop Compton, than from so grossly misapprehending his character as to suppose that he would make a weak and inefficient head of the church. Certain it is, that if the Duke of York, or persons of any party, did recommend him to the primacy under the idea that the interests of the church, in being confided to him, were committed to feeble hands, the event showed that they completely erred both in the estimate they formed of his character, and in the policy which they intended to advance. For it was afterwards sufficiently proved, that the government of the church could not have been entrusted to one more firm and temperate in the exercise of his authority, more watchful over its general interests, or more intrepid in the defence of its rights and privileges at the hour of peril.*

* In Dryden's *Absalom and Achitophel*, Sancroft is introduced under the name of Zadoc, in the following couplet, which describes, probably with great truth, the absence from his mind of all ambition for exaltation and pre-eminence.

“Zadoc the priest, whom, shunning power and place,
His lowly mind advanced to David's grace.”

His consecration took place in Westminster Abbey, on Sunday, January 27th, 167 $\frac{7}{8}$.

The following is the public letter of congratulation addressed to Archbishop Sancroft, on his elevation to the primacy, from the University of Cambridge. The letters on such occasions are usually written by the public orator; and, as the person at this time filling that situation happened to be the Archbishop's intimate friend, and former pupil, Dr. H. Paman, the feelings of private affection gave warmth to the language of panegyric dictated by public duty.

*Reverendissimo in Christo Patri ac Domino, Gul.
Archiep. Cantuar.**

“Liceat saltem academiæ Cantabrigiensi, reverendissime antistes, in summo tuo honore lætari simul et superbire; quem tu tamen, nisi majorem in obsequio quam imperio ponereres gloriam, pertinaci animo penitus recusasses. Non enim more solenni et ritu consueto solum, sed bona fide, nolebas episcopari. Tibi certum erat in unius ecclesiæ Paulinæ ruinis abditissimè delitescere, illas quam temet ipsum illustrare paratiori. Malebas scilicet

* See Appendix to Ward's Lives of the Gresham Professors, p. 138.

privatus omnino latere, sed eximia tua te prodidit virtus; tam præclara et ad ecclesiæ gloriam nata lux, latebris concludi, aut occultari nescia, non nisi in summo collocari meruit. Tam repentinus autem in summum ascensus non aliter se habet, quam cum sol uno statim ictu se omnibus aperiat, et lucem momento latissimè diffundat. Nullâ arte celari potest decens illa gravitas, obvia ubique humanitas, spectata in rebus agendis prudentia, comitas incredibilis, quæ vel in infimo laudem meretur, varia et perfecta eruditio, quæ vel in alio quovis comitem haberet superbiam, primæva denique vitæ sanctimonia, quæ vel sine mitrâ et pedo episcopum indicaret. Rex autem serenissimus, meritorum explorator prudentissimus, cum quærendus esset qui Deum in terris innocentiam et sanctitatem maxime referret, ejusque in ecclesiam suppleret vices, ipsum solum in consilium assumpsit, et tandem imperatoriam majestatem, quam uti necesse erat, non tam elegit episcopum, quam coegit renitentem. Diutina sapientissimi principis deliberatio eo solum tendebat, ut firmior constaret muneri ratio, et diligentiori facto scrutinio tandem liqueret, non alium digniorem inveniri, in quo summa rerum ecclesiasticarum potestas resideret. Cum igitur tardo pede in summum hoc conscenderis fastigium, tardiore exeas, ut

ecclesia, sub felici tuo imperio, feliciore præsidio et gloriâ diutissimè fruatur. Ita animitùs precantur, Gloriæ tuæ studiosissimi, Procancellarius reliquusque Senatus Academiae Cantabrigiensis."

Dat. e frequenti Sen.

5 Id. Jan. 1677.

CHAPTER IV.

PERIOD OF HIS ARCHBISHOPRIC TILL THE
DEATH OF CHARLES II.

State of the Church and Kingdom at the Period of his Elevation to the Primacy—Address to James Duke of York to convert him from Popery—General Attention to the Duties of his Station—Regulations about granting Testimonials—Letter respecting the Augmentation of small Vicarages—Restoration of Archbishop Parker's Monument—Suspension of the Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry—Letter to Dr. Covel, &c.—Attendance on Charles II. on his Death bed.

AT the time when Archbishop Sancroft was appointed to the primacy of the church of England, a station in which he afterwards acted so important and distinguished a part, the feelings of alarm in the nation at the growing ascendancy of the Roman Catholics, grounded on the suspected attachment of the reigning monarch to their cause, and on the prospect of a successor who was a bigotted member of that church, were daily gaining strength. From the side of the Presbyterians and other Protestant Dissenters, little danger was at this time apprehended to the government

and church. Although by the Act of Uniformity, passed in the beginning of Charles's reign, more than 2,000 ministers were ejected from their benefices, yet so generally unpopular were those sectaries, through whom such accumulated calamities had overwhelmed the kingdom, and so strong the tide of opinion in favour of the episcopal form of church government, that with regard to them the public mind was comparatively at rest. The king, indeed, felt the obligations under which he lay to the Presbyterian party, whose exertions were conspicuous in bringing about the Restoration; and, partly with a view to them, had twice, in 1662 and 1672, issued declarations of indulgence suspending all penal laws which applied to Dissenters. But it is a remarkable fact, and strongly indicative of the quarter to which the public fears were directed, especially on the latter of these two occasions, that the great objections made to the exercise of this dispensing power were founded, not on the relief which it held out to Protestant Dissenters, but on the facility which it afforded to the Papists of acquiring an ascendancy.* If, however,

* The Protestant nonconformists themselves were jealous of this dispensing power, claimed in 1672, from the conviction that it was not exercised from any affection to them, but to serve the interests of popery: and it was declared for them in

the fears which prevailed in the public mind, during the lifetime of Charles, of his disposition to support the Roman Catholic, at the expense of the Protestant, interests, were founded rather on general presumption than on positive knowledge, the light which has subsequently been thrown on the circumstances of those times, has shown that they were justified to the fullest extent. It has appeared from authentic documents, not only that he was a regular member of the Roman Catholic church, but also that, during the greater part of his reign, he was actually engaged in a systematic plan to establish that religion in this kingdom. It is now matter of recorded history, that, in 1670, a treaty was concluded between him and the king of France, in which the latter engaged to pay him a yearly stipend of £200,000 for the purpose of assisting him in the enterprise of establishing popery in England.*

Still, as this treaty was kept a profound secret, the hopes of the popish party, and the apprehensions of the Protestants, were less founded on the suspected predilections of Charles, than

parliament that they had sooner go without their own desired liberty, than have it in a way so destructive of the liberties of the country, and of the Protestant interest. See Neale's History of the Puritans, vol. iv. 445, 455.

* See Stuart Papers, Life of King James II. vol. i. p. 442.

on the known rooted disposition of his probable successor. Charles, a man of licentious habits, was supposed to have no very serious attachment to any religion; James, on the other hand, was known to be a bigotted religionist; one who deemed it matter of conscience and of duty to convert others to the religion which he himself professed; and who, it was justly presumed, as soon as he possessed the sovereign power, would spare no endeavours to bring back the nation to the bosom of the Romish church. Hence, as is well known, when the public fears were quickened by real or pretended plots of the Papists, and when the prospect of James's succession to the throne became nearer, attempts were made to exclude him from it by law, on the ground of his religion: but it is singular that, had the true state of things been then developed, the same reasons which were urged for the exclusion of James from the succession to the throne, would have applied with equal force to the expulsion of Charles from the actual possession of it.

Archbishop Sancroft, at a very early period after his appointment to the primacy, engaged in a remarkable attempt to recover the Duke of York from the bosom of the Romish church. There seems no reason to doubt that the design originated principally, if not wholly, with him-

self; and that he communicated it to some of his brethren on the bench for their approbation and concurrence. He was probably induced to make this attempt from the anxious desire which he felt of averting the evils, religious and civil, which the Duke's devoted attachment to the Romish faith was likely to entail upon the nation. We cannot suppose that, with the knowledge which he must have had of the Duke's character, he formed any sanguine expectations of succeeding in his purpose; but he probably felt it matter of conscientious duty to try what he could effect in a matter, in which success would be attended with the most valuable and important consequences.

He communicated his design* to King Charles, who approved it, probably with the view of preserving fair appearances with the bishops and the public, and suggested that the venerable

* The Archbishop, in the following letter to Bishop Morley, uses an expression which might seem to imply that the design of endeavouring to convert the Duke of York originated with the king. He says, "I had a private intimation from my superior, that it is *his pleasure* some further attempt should be made, &c." But, probably, the expression means nothing more than that the king consented to his proceeding in his projected attempt. However, the matter is made quite clear by the Archbishop's reply to the Duke of York, given at p. 176. from the Stuart Papers, in which he says that the king knew of their intention, but the design *originated* with the bishops.

Dr. Morley, Bishop of Winchester,* would be a proper person to be associated with him on the occasion.

In consequence, the Archbishop wrote† to Bishop Morley in the following terms :

The Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Winchester.

“ Lambeth, February 11, 1678.

“ MY GOOD LORD,

“ After so long and active a life as you have spent hitherto in serving the public to so good a purpose at home and abroad, in that great variety of stations and conditions in which God by his good providence hath placed you, there is no man, I think, who, observing you make to land, and ready to put into port, did not follow you with his good wishes, that

* George Morley, Bishop of Winchester, was educated at Christchurch. In 1641, he was made chaplain to King Charles, and attended him during the wars, and also in the Isle of Wight. After the king's death, he went into voluntary exile, officiated for Charles II. at the Hague, and for the exiled royalists at different places. In 1660, he was made Dean of Christ's Church and Bishop of Worcester; and was appointed to preach the Coronation Sermon for Charles II. In 1662, he was translated to Winchester, and died in 1684. He was a liberal and public spirited man, and of considerable learning. See Salmon's Lives of English Bishops.

† See Appendix to Henry Earl of Clarendon's Letters and Diary, p. 265 ; taken from Tanner's MSS.

your anchors and cable might hold; that you might ride safe there from all harms, and enjoy a long and an easy old age, and at last find that happy *εὐθανασία* that always attends a life led according to the rules of our great and common master. I have not hitherto interrupted your privacy and retirement, but prayed heartily, as I do still, that you may enjoy the comforts of it till our Lord shall think fit to remove you from your work to your reward; which sure you long for, as a labourer for the shadow of the evening.

“ But, my Lord, (and therefore after all the former descant upon ‘*fortiter occupa portum,*’ I am to say also from the same poet, ‘*O navis, referent in mare te novi fluctus,*’) you stand on the shore, and cannot but see us toiling and rowing. I know you pity us, for the wind is contrary. We must desire you (as we all do) once more to put out again, and help us. Yesterday I had a private intimation from my superior, that it is his pleasure some further attempt should speedily be made to recover the Duke of York out of that foul apostacy into which the busy traitors from Rome have seduced him. And he names your Lordship, if not the only person proper for such a negotiation, at least as most fit to appear in the head of it. I cannot minutely discourse all particu-

lars to you: the very naming the design will bring into your Lordship's view the happy consequences which will follow it, if it shall please God to bless us with success. However, we shall not miss the comfort of having done our duty in a thing which is so highly decent in the King to direct, and for us to endeavour; and which will certainly be acceptable both to God and man, whatever the event shall prove. I cannot doubt, my Lord, but you will be ready to hazard something; and your particular friends here will be careful to provide you so fair accommodations as may abate as much as possible of the danger: and the rest of us will not fail to attend you with our hearty prayers, that the good hand of God may be upon you to bring you safe, and to give you favour in the sight of man. Though we cannot expect you should immediately on the receipt hereof come towards us; yet we hope you will immediately resolve and let us know it; for the matter is pressing, and I am urged to hasten it to an issue. That it may be such as our souls desire, shall be the daily prayer of,

“ My good Lord,

“ Your Lordship's affectionate Brother,

“ And Servant in our common Master.”

The Bishop of Winchester, in answer* to this

* See Clarendon's Appendix, p. 267.

letter, stated that nothing but such an occasion could have prevailed on him to leave his retreat; that, notwithstanding his secluded habits and advanced age, (for within a fortnight he should enter on the 82d year of his age,) still in compliance with what the King and his Grace thought right, he would not fail to lend his assistance towards effecting a matter of such great importance, at whatever risk to himself it might be.

Accordingly, on the 21st of February, the Duke of York having granted an audience, and been previously made acquainted with their purpose, the Archbishop of Canterbury and Bishop of Winchester were introduced into his closet at St. James's; and the Archbishop addressed him in the following speech:*

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“We are here to wait upon you this morning (this my reverend brother and myself) with allowance and by your appointment, and are therefore the bolder to pray you, that of your clemency you would hear us patiently a few words. We come to you, Sir, with that humility and profound respect which beseems those who have the honour to speak to so great

* Clarendon's Appendix, p. 268.

a Prince; and with hearts full of that duty and loyalty which upon so many accounts is particularly due from us to your most illustrious family. But we come also warmed and enlivened and spirited with that ardent zeal and true devotion which we owe to the excellent religion we profess, and to that most holy faith whereof our kings have the honour to be, and to be styled, the defenders. What we are now about to say to your Highness is that which heaven and earth have long expected from us that we should say, and what we cannot answer it to God or man, if we omit or neglect when we have an opportunity; which your Royal Highness is pleased at this time to afford us. And therefore hearken unto us, we beseech you, that God may hearken unto you; and let it be no grief nor offence of heart unto you, if with that freedom which becomes good Christians and loyal subjects and true Englishmen, we lay before you at this time some of the many grievances, and just complaints of our common mother, the holy, but most afflicted, church of England.

“ If there be now in the world a church to whom that eulogium, that she is a lily among thorns, is due and proper, it is this church of which we are members, as it stands reformed now and established amongst us: the purest cer-

tainly upon earth, as being purified from those many corruptions and abuses which the lapse of times, the malice of the devil, and the wickedness of men had introduced insensibly into the doctrine and worship and government of it. But then withal this lily of purity hath for these many years (by the malicious and subtile machinations of her restless and implacable enemies) been surrounded with thorns on every side; and even to this day she bears in her body the marks of the Lord Jesus, the scars of the old, and the impression of new and more dangerous wounds; and so fills up daily that which is behind of the sufferings of her crucified Saviour.

“ But yet, Sir, in the multitude of the sorrows which she hath in her heart, give us leave to tell you, (for so it is,) scarce any thing hath so deeply and so sensibly wounded her, as that your Royal Highness should think fit even in her affliction to forsake her. Her’s is the womb that bare you, Sir, and her’s the pap that gave you suck. You were born within her then happy pale and communion, and baptized into her holy faith: you sucked the first principles of Christianity from her, the principles of the oracles of God, that sincere milk of the word, not adulterated with heterogeneous or foreign mixtures of any kind. Your royal father, that

blessed martyr of ever-glorious memory, who loved her and knew how to value her, and lost his all in this world for her, even his life too, bequeathed you to her at the last. When he was ready to turn his back upon an impious and ungrateful world, and had nothing else now left him but this excellent religion, (which he thought not only worth his three kingdoms but ten thousand worlds,) he gave that queen in legacy amongst you. For thus he bespake the King your brother, and in him all that were his: words that deserve to be written in letters of gold, and to be engraved in brass or marble.

“ If you never see my face again, I require and
 “ entreat you, as your father and as your king,
 “ that you never suffer your heart to receive
 “ the least check or disaffection from the true
 “ religion established in the church of England.
 “ I tell you I have tried it, and after much
 “ search and many disputes, have concluded it
 “ to be the best in the world.”

“ And accordingly, Sir, we hereupon enjoyed you for many years, to your—we hope, we are sure to our—exceeding great comfort and satisfaction. We saw you in those happy days constant and assiduous in the chapels and oratories of the palace.

“ Like the bright morning and evening star you still arose and set with our sun, and shined

with him there in the same heavenly orb. You stood, as it was meet, next to the throne, the eldest son of this now despised church, and in capacity to become one day the nursing father of it: and we said in our hearts, it may so come to pass, that under his shadow also we shall sit down and be safe. But alas! it was not long before you withdrew yourself by degrees from thence; (we know not how, nor why, God knows,) and though we were loath at first to believe our fears, yet they proved at last too mighty for us; and when our eyes failed with looking up for you in that house of our God, and we found you not, instead of fear, sorrow filled our hearts, and we mourn your absence ever since, and cannot be comforted. And then in that other august assembly in the house of the kingdom, (the most sacred of any but the house of God himself,) think, we beseech you, Sir, (and sure it will soften and intenerate you into some pity when you have thought,) how you stab every one of us to the heart, how you even break our hearts, when we observe (as all the world doth) that we no sooner address ourselves to heaven for a blessing upon the public counsels (in which you have yourself so great too, and so high a concern), but immediately you turn your back upon us.

Have we forgotten the name of our God? or

do we stretch our hands to a strange God? Would not God search this out? for he knoweth the very secrets of the heart. Or, if indeed we worship the same one God, and go to him by that one mediator of God and man, whom you cannot refuse, is there any thing in the matter of our requests which can be justly blamed by any Christians? We pray (amongst the rest) for your Royal Highness by name, and so do many thousands of good Christians besides within his Majesty's dominions every day. And can you find in your heart, Sir, (a heart so noble and generous, so courteous too,) to throw back all these prayers, and renounce them, as so many affronts and injuries to heaven and you? If we who stand here before you, Sir, should declare (as we do at present, and we hope it misbecomes us not,) that we do now actually lift up our hearts with our hands unto God in the heavens, that he would be pleased to endue you with his holy Spirit, to enrich you with his heavenly grace, to prosper you with all happiness, and to bring you to his everlasting kingdom; can you withhold your soul from going up together with our souls one entire sacrifice to heaven to so good and so holy a purpose? Or, if you can, (which seems indeed to be the sad state of the case, nor is that action of yours, in the common acceptation

of mankind, capable of fairer construction): blessed God, what shall we say? Tell us then, if you please, what we are to think you judge of us. Are our prayers (so qualified as before) not only turned into sin to ourselves, but able to devastate and unhallow yours too by their contagion? Are we then all become to you as heathen men and publicans; given up as firebrands of hell, and marked out for damnation? Or, rather, Sir, (for what patience, what phlegm of a stoic, can tamely pass it by?) have not they, to whom you have unhappily surrendered the conduct of your conscience, put off at once all reason and common sense, all bowels of Christian charity and mercy, nay, all common modesty and humanity itself?—Now, blessed be God, that these men are not appointed judges of the quick and the dead; for then no flesh would be saved, but those few (I say few in regard of the whole Christian world) who absolutely give up themselves to serve the secular interests and designs of the proudest, the cruellest, and the most uncharitable church in the world. It is more than time, Sir, that you consider seriously between God and your own soul, (when you two meet together alone at midnight,) what you have done, and where you are; that you remember whence you are fallen, and repent, and do the

first works; that at length you open your eyes and your ears (and we beseech Almighty God, who only can, to open your heart) to better and more impartial information. It may be, you have been told (we are sure it is the usual method in which some treat their proselytes,) that you ought to put out your own eyes, and give them your hand to lead you whither they please; to yield up yourself entirely in implicit faith and wretched blind obedience to all their imperious dictates and commands, but by no means to hear or read (much less consider) what any man else can suggest to the contrary; which is so mean and so unmanly a submission of reason, and faith too, and of all the powers of the soul, to the arbitrary impositions of an insolent and tyrannical faction, that nothing can be more so; unless this be, that, if perhaps under this dismal universal interdict of all aids and assistances that can come in to you from abroad, it shall please God himself by his holy spirit to hover on the working of your own thoughts within, and by that collision to strike fire out of them, and to say, let there be light, and in that light to show you the error or the sin of something that hath been imposed upon you: you are bound (say these severe casuists, but remiss enough in other instances) to resist those motions, to refuse those irradiations, to rebel

against that light, and to shake these bright sparks of heaven out of your bosom, and tread them under foot, and damn them all as the suggestions and temptations of the devil. Certainly there cannot be, I think, a stronger presumption (I had almost said a clearer demonstration) of a bad cause, weak and ruinous in itself, diffident too and despairing in itself, than such a vile and disingenuous fashion of procedure. And if this, Sir, were the case with you at present, we should have nothing left us to do but only to mourn for you in secret, and to commend you to the extraordinary and miraculous mercies of God, which alone can rescue you from so great a bondage. But we hope better things of you, great Sir, and things that accompany salvation, though thus we speak. You are master of too good an understanding, and of too high a carriage, to suffer yourself to be treated at so vile and cheap a rate. A generous and noble mind can never give up itself to be thus imposed upon, and ridden by such unjust, immodest pretenders. They are not only cruel, but impudent and foolish, that pretend great kindness forsooth, while they put out a man's eyes, (at least hoodwink, and blindfold him,) and then set him to grind in their mills, and serve their turns upon him in all the low instances of drudgery. Whereas

the true and genuine Christian religion is a plain, and honest, and disinterested thing, full of sweet candour and holy simplicity, hath no tricks in it, no designs upon any man, but only to make him wise and good, and so, happy for ever: and it suits not at all with the noble fine temper and ingenuity of it to pretend or desire to be taken upon trust, or to obtrude itself upon any man without examination. Nothing at all of that moment is to be done in the dark, or be huddled up in such a blind implicit manner. The coin that refuseth the touchstone and the balance, is justly suspected false and adulterate; and will never go for current payment with any that understand themselves and take care of their affairs. And therefore, Sir, for the love of heaven and your own soul, look about you, and make use of the faculties which God hath given you. You owe a satisfaction to yourself, and so doth every honest man in whatever he doth; and when all is done and said on all sides, if he but lets himself loose to think, consider, and reflect, he will judge for himself at last, and he cannot help or avoid it. It was St. Paul's advice to his Thessalonians, (and it is our's to you, Sir, and the sum of what we would say,) "prove all things, and hold fast that which is good," or, with those Bereans, more noble than their neighbours, "Search the

Scriptures, whether those things be so or not." And if this be your present resolve or inclination, (as we trust it is,) we are here, Sir, in our own, and in the names of the rest of our brethren now about town, to make you a most humble tender of our best and utmost assistance; and that the consultation may be easy and come to a short issue, we will not engage you in doubtful disputations; we will not lead you into hard and thorny questions; we will not perplex you with the subtilties and niceties of the schools, nor with any thing that lies remote and out of common view, beyond the reach of ordinary notice. A plain text or two of scripture, and a plain obvious matter of fact, recorded in a hundred books, that are in our own language, and in every man's hand, is all we shall trouble your Royal Highness with: and from these, so few and so humble premises, we doubt not by God's assistance to be able to evince, that your Royal Highness is bound in conscience, and as you tender the welfare of your immortal soul, immediately to quit the communion and guidance of your step-dame, the church of Rome, and then to return into the bosom of your true, dear, and holy mother, the church of England. And thus we prove the first of these; sc. that you ought forthwith to abandon the communion of the church of Rome.

“ That church which teacheth and practiseth the doctrines destructive of salvation is to be relinquished. But the church of Rome teacheth and practiseth doctrines destructive of salvation. Therefore the church of Rome is to be relinquished.”

The delivery of this address occupied nearly half an hour. The Duke heard the Archbishop without at all interrupting him. As soon, however, as he had concluded, he expressed how much surprise he had felt when the application was made to him to permit those two prelates to wait upon him, as from the whole of their bench; that he had not thought it right to refuse them, although he felt that to be pressed upon such a point just before the meeting of parliament was very injurious to his interests; that the prejudices now prevailing against him on the subject of his religion were very strong, and that this must tend to aggravate them. He then asked the Archbishop whether he had come on this occasion by the direction of the King, or merely at the request of the Bishops. He answered that the King knew of their intention, but that the design originated with the Bishops. The Duke then replied, that he had not the smallest doubt of the good intentions both of themselves and of some others of their order; still he could not help suspecting that those

who had urged them to this measure intended to do him an injury. He added, with reference to the discourse they had made, that it would be presumptuous in an illiterate man like himself to enter into controversial disputes with persons of their learning: nevertheless, he would have acquainted them with the reasons of his conversion, if he had thought the occasion a proper one for so doing, and if his leisure had permitted: he assured them that he had taken all the pains he could to examine the grounds of his religious faith; that he had not made the change hastily or without consideration, or without foresight of the inconveniences which must ensue to him from it. Having said thus much, he begged them not to take it amiss, or feel surprised, that the great pressure of business made it necessary for him to dismiss them without any further discussion of the points which they had urged.*

It does not appear that the Duke ever reverted to the subject with the Archbishop, or invited any further discussion of the points which formed the matter of this address. No doubt, he was at this time too strongly prejudiced in favour of popish doctrines to admit of

* See the Stuart Papers, Life of King James, taken from his Private Memoirs, vol. i. p. 539, 540.

any reasonable chance of his conversion, or even of his listening to the arguments that were urged against them with a mind open to conviction.

In the execution of the duties of the exalted station to which he was now called, Archbishop Sancroft showed himself ever attentive to the best interests of the church, anxious to preserve the purity of the ministerial character, and to provide for the proper performance of the ministerial functions. He distinguished himself too on just occasions by a vigorous exertion of his archiepiscopal authorities.

A letter, which he wrote to Dr. Isaac Barrow,* Bishop of St. Asaph, soon after his appointment to the primacy, conveys a favourable impression both of the uprightness and of the benevolence of his mind, at the same time that it exhibits a fair specimen of the neat and expressive style in which it was his habit to write. Bishop Barrow, it appears,† had displayed peculiar disinterestedness in forbearing to renew the lease of an estate of considerable value, on

* Isaac Barrow was educated at Peter-house, Cambridge, and became fellow; was ejected, and forced into retirement, during the troubles; returned to his fellowship at the Restoration; in 1662, was made Bishop of Man; in 1669, Bishop of St. Asaph, and died in 1680. See Brown Willis's Survey of the Cathedral Church of St. Asaph.

† B. Willis's Survey of St. Asaph, p. 278.

which two lives out of three had already fallen; thereby giving up the private emolument, to which he was fairly entitled, for the advantage of his successors, and the perpetual augmentation of the see; and, in order to secure this benefit to the see, in the event of his life dropping before the lease actually fell in, he procured by the assistance of the Archbishop a royal letter sanctioning what he had done, and strictly requiring any bishop who might succeed him to confirm it. The Archbishop, in sending to him this royal letter, addresses him in the following terms:*

“ Salutem in Christo.

Lambeth House, April 1st, 1679.

“ MY GOOD LORD,

“ In an age when so many seek their own, and so few the good of the church in general, it is an high and noble example which your Lordship has given us, by neglecting the opportunity of your private advantage to promote the common benefit of your successors. I assure you, his Majesty esteems and accepts well this instance of your zeal for God’s church, and with that God I doubt not your reward will be on high. To him my prayer shall be, that you may live to see the good work accomplished which you have so well begun. But if

* B. Willis’s Survey of St. Asaph, p. 276.

it shall please him to take you from your work to your reward before, the enclosed may secure you that care will be taken to (give in) succession what you have so worthily designed. For the manner of doing it, I consulted both my Lord Chancellor and my Lord Chief Justice North; and if you can suggest any thing that will make it stronger or safer I will pursue it.

“ My Lord, there is one thing more which I have been much importuned to move your Lordship in, and it is with my Lord of London’s privity and consent that it is once more proposed to you. There is a stranger who has been some time among us, John Sesbaldus Fabricius, a man of very good learning, humble and modest, one that loves our church well, and hath written in defence of it, and thereby created himself enemies both among our Dissenters here and his own countrymen, who have thereupon divested him of the livelihood he had there before, so that I have now reason to fear he is in want. My Lord, I have been informed that his Majesty hath written twice to you to bestow one of the many sinecures within your patronage upon him, it being in regard of his want of language the only proper way of providing for him. I am very loth to press upon your Lordship, it is against my nature and against my rule. It is fit, I think, that every man be left freely to dispose of his

own. I shall only say, *This man is worthy for whom you should do this, for he hath loved our nation*; and I verily believe that if you shall comply with this request of mine, he that is the God of the helpless, and of the stranger, will give you the comfort of it both here and hereafter.

“ I am,

“ My Lord,

“ With all hearty affection,

“ Your loving Brother,

“ W. CANT.”

“ *To the Lord Bishop of St. Asaph.*”

In the first year of his elevation to the see, he deemed it expedient to call the attention of the bishops of his province to the necessity of exercising greater strictness than had usually obtained, in inquiring into the characters of those who were destined for the sacred functions. It appears that, in granting testimonials in favour of candidates for holy orders, too great laxity had been practised; those who subscribed them having been frequently in the habit of signing their names, merely as a matter of form, and often without proper and strict inquiry into the truth of what they testified. For the purpose of checking a practice so injurious to the best interests of the church, he issued the following directions, addressed to the

dean of his province, the Bishop of London, to be communicated to the several bishops of the province.

Directions from the Archbishop of Canterbury to his Suffragans, concerning Testimonials to be granted unto Candidates for Holy Orders, dated from Lambeth House, August 23d, 1678.*

“ SALUTEM IN CHRISTO.

“ MY LORD,

“ Whereas the easy and promiscuous granting of letters testimonial, (which is in itself a sacred thing, and in the first intention of great and very weighty importance,) is by the lapse of time and the corruption which by insensible degrees is crept into the best institutions, come to be, both in the Universities and elsewhere abroad in the dioceses, a matter of mere formality, and piece of common civility, scarce denied to any that asked it, and many times upon the credit of the first subscriber, attested by the rest who have otherwise no knowledge of the person so adorned: or else, where more conscience is made of bearing false witness, even for a neighbour, is done so perfunctorily, and in so low and dilute terms, as ought to signify nothing at all to the great end for which 'tis designed to serve; and yet is some-

* See Wilkins's *Concilia Magnæ Britann. Sancroft. Archiep.*

times, with a like easiness and remissness, received and proceeded upon; whereby great mischiefs in the church and scandals daily ensue, persons altogether undeserving, or at least not duly qualified, being too often, upon the credit of such papers, admitted into holy orders, and, in consequence thereupon, thrusting themselves into employments of high trust and dignity and advantage in the church, and by their numerous intrusions preventing and excluding others of greater modesty and merit: concerning all which your Lordship cannot but remember how many and how great complaints we met with, both from our brethren the bishops, and others, during the late session of parliament, and what expedients for remedy thereof were then under debate and consideration among us. Now, as the result of those counsels, and for the effectual redressing of those inconveniences and preventing the like for the future, (though it would be abundantly sufficient to call all persons concerned on both sides, to the serious perusal of, and exact compliance with, those excellent constitutions and canons ecclesiastical, made in the year 1603, which have most wisely and fully provided to obviate all these evils,) yet because in the modern practice they seem not to be duly attended to, it is thought fit and necessary again

to limit and regulate the grant, the matters, and the form of testimonials as followeth: *vide-licet*—

“ That no letters testimonial be granted only upon the credit of others, or out of a judgment of charity, which believes all things and hopes all things, but from immediate and personal knowledge, and that vowed and expressed in the letters themselves.

“ That (as to the form of these letters) every such testimonial have the date, both as to the time and place, expressly mentioned in the body of it, before it be subscribed by any, and pass also (as the canon requires) under hand and seal; those namely from the Universities, under the common seal of their respective colleges, attested by the subscription of the master, head, or principal person there; and those from other places, under the hands and seals of three priests, at the least, of known integrity, gravity, and prudence, who are of the voisinage where the person testified of resides, or have otherwise known his life and behaviour by the space of three years next before the date of the said letters.

“ And as to the matter of them, that they particularly express the present condition of the person in whose behalf the testimony is given; his standing and degree in the University; his

place of present abode and course of life; his end and design for which he would make use of the said testimonial; whether for obtaining the order of deacon or priest, or the employment of a parson, vicar, curate, or schoolmaster; and that the subscribers know him to be worthy, and in regard of learning, prudence, and holy life, duly qualified for the same respectively: and if he desires holy orders, his age too, if the subscribers know it, or else that they admonish him to bring it, otherwise credibly and sufficiently attested. Lastly, if such testimonial be to be made use of in another diocese than that where it is given, that it be by no means received without the letters dimissory of the bishop or other ordinary of the place, attesting in writing the ability, honesty, and good conversation of the person commended, in the place from whence he came.

“ My Lord, this is (I think) the sum of what was discoursed and resolved between us when we were last together. I therefore desire you, with all convenient speed, to cause copies thereof to be transcribed and transmitted to the several bishops of this province and vice-chancellors of the universities respectively, and to be by them communicated (as soon as may well be) to as many as are herein concerned, that they may not be disappointed by coming

furnished with such testimonials only as will not, nor ought, to be received to such great purposes, for which they are so often made use of. Commending your Lordship and your great affairs to the blessing of God Almighty,

“ I remain, my Lord,

“ Your Lordship’s assured loving Brother,

“ W. CANT.”

Another measure, connected with the general welfare of the church, which engaged his attention at an early period after his elevation to the primacy, was the augmentation of small vicarages and other ecclesiastical benefices, in which the revenue for the minister was insufficient for his decent maintenance. It has already appeared* that, when he occupied a lower station in the church, he had turned his attention to this subject, and had, in one instance which came immediately under his jurisdiction, himself applied a remedy to the evil.

It is evident, from what passed at an early period after the Restoration, that ecclesiastical persons and bodies, in many cases where they themselves were the impropriators, had not been sufficiently careful to assign to the officiating minister a competent salary, having fre-

* Page 148.

quently suffered the money payment allotted for his maintenance to remain unchanged, under a considerable depreciation of the currency of the kingdom; and having even neglected to make an additional endowment of the benefice, in some instances where the augmented value of the property held under the impropriation made it peculiarly reasonable that such an augmentation should be effected. This subject had engaged the attention of the king at an early period after the Restoration;* and he had by a royal letter directed the bishops and members of cathedral churches to increase the stipends paid to the ministers in the vicarages and donatives under their jurisdiction. Subsequently, in 1676, an act of parliament had passed,† enacting that, under all renewals of leases of rectories or impropriate tithes, where an augmented sum should be assigned for the maintenance of the minister, such augmentation should be perpetual. Still it appears that this desirable measure had not, in all instances, been carried into effect; and in consequence, in 1680, the Archbishop addressed the following letter to the Bishop of London, as dean of his province, to be by him communicated to the several bishops and deans:

* In the year 1662.—See Kennett's History, iii. 243.

† See 29 Charles II. ch. 8.

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Letter to the
Bishop of London, about the Augmentation of
Vicarages and Curacies.*

“ MY LORD,

“ The patrimony of the church (especially in the smaller vicarages) hath been so long and so often by unjust customs, and otherwise, invaded, and by degrees daily more and more diminished; and the little that is left of the old endowment, so likely by the same arts to be swallowed up and lost, that we have reason to bless God, who at the king's happy restoration put it into his heart by his letters to command us, upon the renewing of church leases, to make farther reservations, beyond the old rent, for the augmenting the livelihood of poor vicars and curates; which being done, he also past a law for the confirming and perpetuating such augmentations. After which pious care and provision, it would be an indelible blot upon us, if we should be found to have finally neglected any act enjoined us by that statute; whereby the payment of those augmentations is directed to be evidenced and secured. And yet (with grief I write it) I think I have ground to fear, that what in obedience to that excellent law ought to have been

* See Wilkins's Concilia M. Brit.

done by us above three years since, in order to so pious a purpose, is not to this day by us all universally performed. And, therefore, I desire your Lordship to communicate this my letter to all our brethren, the bishops of this province, by them to be transmitted to their respective deans, archdeacons, and prebendaries, strictly requiring them, upon receipt hereof, to have recourse to the said act of parliament, and forthwith punctually and effectually to perform what is therein enjoined them. And when that is done, to the end I may be assured that at last it is done, that every bishop, dean, and archdeacon, send me a particular of all the augmentations respectively by them made, or by their predecessor, with the names of the parishes, and the sum so reserved to the use of the incumbents, subscribed with their own hands; that so I may know what hath been done herein throughout the whole province. My Lord, I doubt not of your Lordship's readiness to promote so good a work, which with your good Lordship, and all your great affairs, I commend to God's blessing, and remain your Lordship's most affectionate friend and brother,

“ W. CANT.”

“ Lambeth House, February 2d, 1680.”

But Archbishop Sancroft embraced frequent

opportunities of practising himself what he thus anxiously recommended to others. On several occasions of renewing the leases of impropriate rectories under his jurisdiction, as archbishop, he made a liberal augmentation to the income of the officiating ministers. Among other instances of this,* he granted to the curate and preacher of Maidstone, for his better maintenance, a portion of the small tithes accruing within that borough: and, on renewing the lease of the impropriate rectorial tithes of Postling, in Kent, instead of accepting the fine, he employed the sum for the permanent improvement of the salary of the vicar, providing at the same time that no injury should thereby be done to his own successors. In the first year of James II.'s reign, two particular instances of his exercising this useful description of benevolence are recorded. The one regarded the parishes of Whalley, Blackburn and Rochdale, in Lancashire, where he possessed the impropriate rectories and the presentation to the livings. These parishes being of great extent, and the population having increased prodigiously, several chapels had been built for the accommodation of the inhabitants, but no regular provision had been made for the main-

* See Kennett's Case of Impropriations, p. 304, &c.

tenance of the ministers who performed the service. In consequence, on a great fine falling at this time to Archbishop Sancroft for the renewal of the lease of the rectorial tithes, he had the liberality to expend it in the purchase of lands, the rent of which he appropriated to the stipends of these ministers.

In the other instance alluded to, he showed a pious regard to Fresingfield, the place of his birth. He purchased an estate in feefarm rents to the value of about £52 per ann. which he settled on the vicar and his successors for ever, making a small reserve for the salary of a master for the parochial school.

At an early period of his occupation of Lambeth Palace, Archbishop Sancroft had an opportunity of paying due respect to the insulted remains of one of the greatest and most venerable of his predecessors, Archbishop Parker. At the time of the rebellion,* Lambeth Palace had shared the wretched fate of many ecclesiastical edifices, in being exposed to rude insult and violation. It fell to the possession of one of the parliamentary officers, Colonel Thomas Scott, whose temper seems to have well accorded with the views of the party in whose service he was employed. He converted the chapel where Archbishop Parker's remains

* See Ducarel's History of Lambeth Palace.

were deposited, and where a monument was erected to his memory, into a hall or dancing room; and, either for the purpose of showing his hatred to episcopacy in general, or else in the mere wantonness of profane and ferocious insolence, caused the remains of that venerable prelate to be dug up, the lead which enclosed them to be plucked off and sold, and the bones to be buried in a dung-hill. In this state they continued for some time after the Restoration. At last, Sir William Dugdale, hearing by chance of the transaction, repaired to Archbishop Sancroft, and made him acquainted with it. The Archbishop immediately caused diligent search to be made, and procured the assistance of an order from the House of Lords. The bones being at last found, were decently deposited for the second time in the chapel, near the same spot where the monument formerly stood. Over them are the following words cut in the marble pavement of the chapel:

Corpus Matthæi Archiepiscopi tandem hic quiescit.

The Archbishop ordered the same monument, which had formerly covered these remains, to be erected in the vestibule of the chapel, and himself composed the following inscription, which is still to be seen engraved on a plate of brass affixed to it:

MATTHÆI ARCHIEPISCOPI CENOTAPHIUM.

Corpus enim (ne nescias, lector,)
 In adyto hujus sacelli olim rite conditum,
 A sectariis perduellibus, anno MDCXLVIII,
 Effracto sacrilegè hoc ipso tumulo,
 Elogio sepulchrali impiè refixo,
 Direptis nefariè exuviis plumbeis,
 Spoliatum, violatum, eliminatum ;
 Etiam sub sterquilinio (proh scelus) abstrusum,
 Rege demum (plaudente cælo et terrâ) redeunte,
 Ex decreto Baronum Angliæ, sedulo quæsitum,
 Et sacello postliminio redditum,
 In ejus quasi medio tandem quiescit ;
 Et quiescat utinam,
 Non nisi tubâ ultimâ solicitandum.
 Qui denuo desecrabit, sacer esto.

Occasions were not wanting, on which Archbishop Sancroft maintained the discipline of the church with a just degree of dignity and firmness. A remarkable and unusual instance of this occurred in his suspension of Dr. Thomas Wood, Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, from his episcopal functions, on account of his neglect of his diocese and other misdemeanours. In this bishop we have an unhappy example of a very undeserving person raised to that important and dignified station in the church by most unworthy and disgraceful means. It is recorded* that he obtained his bishopric imme-

* See Bishop Kennett's Papers in Lansdowne MSS. in British Museum, v. 987. 159.

diately from Charles II. through the interest of the Duchess of Cleveland, and that he recommended himself to her, by contriving that his niece, a wealthy heiress, to whom he was guardian, should marry the Duke of Southampton, son of the duchess. After he was placed in the bishopric, he grossly neglected the concerns of the diocese, residing entirely out of it, and performing none of the functions. In addition to this, he refused to build an episcopal house, although he received money for this purpose from the heirs of his predecessor, and although he cut down from the estates of the see, as for this building, timber, which he afterwards sold. The Archbishop of Canterbury considered that a case of this flagrant nature demanded the interference of his metropolitan authority. He accordingly in April, 1684, suspended* Bishop Wood from his episcopal

* As transactions of this description are very rare in the church, it may be satisfactory to give the instrument of suspension, taken from Archbishop Sancroft's registers among the Lambeth records :

In Dei nomine Amen. Cum coram venerabili et egregio viro Dom^o Ric^o Lloyd, milite et legum doctore surrogato venerabilis et egregii viri Domⁱ Roberti Wyseman militis et legum doctoris almæ curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus Londin. officialis principalis legitimè constituti, quoddam negotium officii promotum per Philippum Jacob Gen. contra reverendum in Christo Patrem ac dominum dominum Thomam permissi one divinâ Coventr. et

dignity and functions. The bishop submitted some time after, and the suspension was taken off in May, 1686. However this exercise of

Litchf. Episcopum nuper pendebat et vertebatur. Cumque dictum negotium per præfatum Philippum Jacob promotorem officii prædicti et præfatum reverendum patrem dominum Thomam Episcopum antedictum commissum et relatum fuerit arbitrio reverendorum in Christo patrum ac dominorum dominorum Henrici permissione divinâ Londin. Episcopi ac Domini Wilh^{mi} permissione divinâ Petroburgensis Episcopi arbitrorum hinc inde electorum per eos audiendum et terminandum, prout in actis hujus Almæ Curiae Cantuariensis de arcubus plenius liquet et apparet: Cunque dicti reverendi patres per judicium laudum sive sententiam eorum manibus et sigillis infra tempus eis præfixum, et limitatum subscriptum sigillatum et deliberatum inter alia in dicto judicio, laudo, sive sententia præfatum reverendum dominum Thomam permissione divinâ Coventr. et Litchf. Episcopum ab officio suo et functione Episcopali et a beneficiis proficuis et perquisitis Episcopatus prædicti suspendendum fore adjudicarint et determinaverint donec mihi Wilhelmo providentia divinâ Cantuariens. Archiepiscopo plenam fecerit et debitam submissionem pro absentia suâ a suâ diœcesi, neglectu officii sui et cæteris criminibus contra eum allegatis et probatis. Cum denique dictum judicium laudum et sententia arbitrorum antedictorum fuerit, et sit per sententiam definitivam hujus almæ curiæ Cantuariensis de arcubus confirmat. ratificat. et sententiat. Idcirco nos Wilhelmus providentia divinâ Cantuariensis Archiepiscopus totius Angliæ Primus et Metropolitanus præfatum reverendum in Christo patrem ac dominum dominum Thomam permissione divinâ Coventr. et Litchf. Episcopum ab officio suo et functione Episcopali et a beneficiis proficuis et perquisitis Episcopatus prædict. donec fecerit nobis plenam et debitam submissionem pro absentia suâ a suâ diœcesi, neglectu officii

authority, tempered with mildness, unfortunately seems to have failed in producing the desired effect; for the bishop appears to have continued in the habit of residing at a distance from his diocese, and of neglecting its concerns.

About the end of the year 1684, a communication was made to the Archbishop from Dr. Covel, then resident at the Hague, as chaplain to the Princess of Orange, at the suggestion and instigation of some persons there, recommending an attempt at the formation of a public league for the defence of the Protestant cause. Nothing more is known respecting the particulars of the plan, or the characters and motives of the persons who were forward in moving it, than is unfolded in the letter of the Archbishop to

sui et omnibus aliis criminibus contra eum allegatis et probatis, suspendimus in his scriptis.

W. CANT.

Lecta die Sabbath. 19 Julii, 1684, inter horas undec. et duodec. antemeridianas per rev^{um} Christo patrem ac dominum dominum Wilhelmum providentiâ divinâ Cantuar. Archiep. in capella sua infra manerium suum de Lambehyth in com. Surriæ, ad humilem petitionem M. Everardi Erton, &c. præsentibus tunc et ibidem reverendo in Christo patre ac domino domino Francisco permissione divinâ Roffen. Episcopo ac reverendo in Christo patre Johanne permissione divinâ Insulæ Man et Sodorensis Episcopo Domino Bristolen. Electo.

Dr. Covel, and Dr. Covel's reply. The Archbishop's letter exhibits a striking proof of that cautious wisdom, and sagacious insight into human characters, for which he was so singularly distinguished; and Dr. Covel's reply clearly shows that the view which the Archbishop took of the motives which led to the communication was perfectly just.

From Archbishop Sancroft to Dr. Covel at the Hague.*

“ January 2d, 1684.

“ SIR,

“ Almost ever since I received your letter I have been under so great a distemper as I scarce ever felt before in my life, occasioned by old age and the severity of the present season, and that followed with so great a decay of strength and spirits that I was not able to hold up my head to do any business. And, though as yet but little relieved, I have at last taken up my pen to say something to your letter, because it is perhaps expected. And I shall begin with this necessary protestation, that there are not, it may be, many persons who have a deeper or more tender resentment than I have of the sad and deplorable

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 32. No. 214.

state of the reformed churches in some parts of the continent of Europe : and I should count it my joy and the crown of my rejoicing, if I could contribute any thing, besides my daily prayers, *ut videat Deus et requirat*, towards restoring and advancing them to a yet better condition. I would also reckon it among the greater felicities of my life, if I might find myself in capacity to do any agreeable service to those very great and most illustrious persons, whose names gild and ennoble your paper.

“ But since I am required in the first place to open my own mind, and to give my opinion as to the expedient at present advanced, I am very much afraid it will have little or no effect toward the pious design so well intended. In one of the places, whither it is addressed, things are, you know, infinitely embroiled and exasperated, and brought to the utmost extremity; so that 'tis hardly seasonable, if decent, to move any thing there of this kind. The other place is the country and the proper soil of flatteries, where they are sown so thick, and come up daily so rank, that they grow up oftentimes into something too like blasphemies. And how well or favourably they are like to be received there, that come to tell the truth, to blame the present conduct, and to suggest unwelcome, or indeed any other, counsels, were

not perhaps unfit to be thought of beforehand. After so long a train of uninterrupted and prodigious successes, to think that they may be remonstrated or harangued into wiser or more moderate counsels, is all one as to hope to calm a tempest with a lesson upon the lute, or to silence the roaring of the winds with a trim air upon the flageolet. Remonstrances between princes signify little, and therefore are not used, but when there is something else in readiness to keep them in countenance when they are despised, and to go on when they are forced to give over. And if that be indeed the last resort intended in this proposition, I must beg pardon if I refuse utterly to give any opinion on so nice a subject.

And thus, Sir, I, having in some measure, and as my present unhealthiness would give leave, given some answer to your letter, and made some declaration of my own opinion upon the main matter propounded, the rest, I conceive, falls all to the ground: and, in particular, as to the *communicandum* you sent enclosed, I have little to return that is fit for paper. For, though I would be glad to serve my brethren, yet their trumpet gives so uncertain a sound, that I know not how to prepare myself to do it. They seem sometimes to give me some commission; but presently after,

they take it back again, with so many limitations and wary restrictions, that at last it becomes not feasible. Upon consideration, I find that the only thing practicable in it, is *ut rem totam silentio premam*; which, I assure you, I have done hitherto, and will do for the future most faithfully and religiously; and I have right, I think, to expect the same silence from them and you.

“And now, upon this occasion, let me tell you an adventure which befell me some years since. There came to dine with me a foreign ambassador from one of the northern crowns, who, after dinner, threw this blunt and abrupt question at me; “Why do not you persuade the King to put himself in the head of the Protestant league against France?” I answered him, as was meet, with questions: and why do not you, in order hereto, persuade your King, from whom it should begin, forthwith to adjust all differences with his neighbouring kings? They are brethren of the same confession, worship, and discipline; nearest neighbours, yet most deadly implacable enemies, that omit no occasion on either side of ruining and destroying one another. Since, therefore, you have put me on the why not; why do not they appoint the best and wisest men of both kingdoms a committee *de finibus requirendis*,

in the first place; and, in the next, to arbitrate all things in question between them; and, in fine, to establish, a firm, holy, and inviolable league, offensive and defensive, betwixt them and their kingdoms for ever. And, this being done, why should they not put over to the other side, and persuade into this blessed harmony, which one would think should not be difficult, those mighty princes on the opposite shore, with the rest all over Germany. And when you see such a body of a league prepared, it will be more seasonable to inquire, and more easy to find, who shall be the head. The ambassador answered not my question; nor was I any further troubled with his.

“ You’ll say, perhaps, these are fine airy speculations, like some mechanical designs, easily laid down upon paper; but when we go on to practice, the matter will prove stubborn and unmanageable. It may be so; I fear it will be so. But yet, whatever becomes of your project or mine, or any other particular scheme, I can by no means, as our brethren seem to do, give up the whole Protestant cause at once, as lost and desperate, and ready to breathe its last. No!—God hath, by the Reformation, kindled and set up a light in Christendom, which, I am fully persuaded, shall never be extinguished. Heaven and earth shall pass

away, but the word of the Lord endureth for ever: and this is the word which hath been preached amongst us. Only let them that suffer according to the will of God commit the keeping of their souls to him in well doing; let them adore the unsearchable depths of his wise providence: who, when all our fine policies are baffled and defeated, will take the matter into his own hands, and perfect what concerns us in a way we think not of: for His is the kingdom of the power; to Him be the glory for ever. Amen.

(Signed) W. C.

*Dr. Covel's Answer to Archbishop Sancroft.**

Hague, Jan. $\frac{16}{8}$, 1684.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“Your letter hath not only given a full demonstration of your most admirable wisdom and ample testimony of your hearty affections for the reformed religion, but you have therein highly advanced the glory of our own church above all the suspicions and calumnies that vain and malicious men (whereof we have not a few in these parts,) can suggest, or cast upon it. I do not doubt but the communicandum which I was ordered to send your Grace was really

* Tann. MSS. v. 32. No. 216.

an honest intention of well disposed men; yet I must freely tell you, that I believe some here would have been glad if it might have proved a snare, or have given them any handle to traduce us; for I have often found in these places a devilish spirit at work in some men's minds, (especially in the vagabonds of our own country,) whose whole business and design in these troublesome times is to blacken us as much as possible. Your Grace has exactly observed the Apostle's rule *ανδριζεσθε και κραταιεστε*; you have most rationally satisfied the good men amongst us, to whom I have communicated your answer; and it will utterly confound the false brethren, and at least shatter their rotten hearts, and much abate their impudence, if not quite stop their mouths. With those it hath the same effect that your Grace's answer had to the northern ambassador; I suppose they will give over their design. To these it will prove, I doubt not, a sufficient bar to hinder those impressions which their sly and malicious insinuations might otherwise have made upon some (perhaps good, but) too easy and credulous minds."

There are no traces of any further communications having taken place on this subject between the Archbishop and Dr. Covel.

From the high and honourable feelings which Archbishop Sancroft at all times displayed, it could not be doubted that he would view with great indignation all attempts at trafficking with church preferments. An instance occurred, in which he expressed his opinion on such conduct with the warmth which became him. An archdeacon of Lincoln, having been convicted of simony in the ecclesiastical courts, presented a petition to the king for a pardon. The king referred the petition to the consideration of the Archbishop, and desired him to report upon it. The Archbishop gave his opinion in most unequivocal terms in the following letter addressed to his Majesty.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,*

“The matter of fact for which the petitioner stands condemned is confessed in the petition; and the matter of law, whether

* See Tann. MSS. 32. 208. It ought to be mentioned that there is no date to this letter, nor mention of the name of the king, whether Charles or James, to whom it was addressed. Thus, though here it is referred to Charles, it is not certain that this is rightly done. It should be mentioned that, on referring to Leneve's Fasti, it appears that the same person was Archdeacon of Lincoln from 1666 to 1715. Thus, whatever sentence was passed on this occasion, it is clear that he was not deprived of his situation.

the fact be simony, is not, I think, doubted of, by any one but himself. His whole defence is nothing but shifting and tergiversation, both below at Lincoln and here in the Arches. And now, the sentence having overtaken him, he appeals the second time to your Majesty in Chancery, as if he were still confident of his innocence, and yet at the same time confesseth his guilt by imploring your Majesty's gracious pardon.

“SIRE, the crime he stands convicted of, is a pestilence that walketh in darkness; too often committed, but very seldom discovered. And now there is a criminal detected, if your Majesty shall think fit, which God forbid, to rescue him from the penalty, the markets of Simon Magus will be more frequented than ever. Much rather, seeing he hath the courage to appeal to the delegates, to the delegates let him go: which yet, with all the rest, is humbly submitted to your Majesty's wisdom and justice.

(Signed) “W. C.”

When Charles the Second lay on his death bed, under a fit of apoplexy, Archbishop Sancroft with some of the other prelates attended him. He addressed the dying monarch in a weighty exhortation, in which he used great

freedom of speech, alleging that he felt it necessary to do so on so awful an occasion, when he, to whom his words were directed, was going to be judged by One who is no respecter of persons. The king made him no answer; and paid no attention to the devotions and exhortations offered to him by any of the Protestant divines. This was at first attributed to insensibility as to religious matters; but it was afterwards known that Romish priests were privately brought to his bed side; and that from their hands he received the last offices of religion.*

* See Burnet's Own Times, in the account of the death of Charles II.

CHAPTER V.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF JAMES THE SECOND
TO THE DECLARATION FOR LIBERTY OF CON-
SCIENCE.

Address of the Bishops to King James on his Accession—his Coronation by Archbishop Sancroft—Articles for the Regulation of Ordinations and Institutions, &c.—King James's Endeavours to silence the Clergy—Ecclesiastical Commission—the Archbishop's Refusal to sit in it—Reasons for this Refusal and Effects of it—Letter to the King respecting Preferments—Opposition as a Governor of the Charterhouse to the Dispensing Power—Letters from and to Mary, Princess of Orange.

THE day after the demise of Charles, and the accession of James to the throne, February 7, 168 $\frac{4}{5}$, Archbishop Sancroft, accompanied by as many of the bishops as happened to be then in London, waited on the new king, and addressed him in the following terms. The presentation of an address from this quarter at so early a period after the accession of a new monarch seems to have been unusual. The Archbishop probably intended, by this early and warm expression of gratitude on the part of the church for his gracious promises of favour and support to it made in his first speech to the

privy council, to recall them to his recollection, and to fix him to the performance of them. It is curious to compare the expressions of goodwill to the Protestant church used by James on his accession, and the hopes thereby excited in the members of the church, with the events which afterwards took place.

Address of the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishops to King James the Second on his Accession.*

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“ We are here this morning (the few bishops that are about the town) with design to throw ourselves at your Majesty’s feet; and there, in the names of ourselves and our brethren, and the whole state of the clergy of the realm, to profess our duty and our loyalty to your Majesty, your heirs and successors. Sir, it hath been accounted the distinctive character of the established church, it is her glory and her holy boast, that she hath been always loyal to her kings, even in the greatest trials; and she esteems it one of her greatest honours, that your Majesty hath oftentimes of late publicly declared and acknowledged it. And we

* See Appendix to Letters of Henry Earl of Clarendon, v. ii. p. 276.

humbly desire your Majesty to be assured that we will make it the endeavour of our lives to make good the fair opinion you have been pleased to express concerning us, in all the instances of our duty, how costly or how hazardous soever they may prove to us.

“ Sir, when we came first within the prospect (the sad prospect) of what befel us yesterday in the morning, we could not but think, that, at such a time as this is, we should have had much, very much, to ask of your Majesty, and to beg it upon our knees with the same earnestness with which we would petition for our lives, if they were all in question: but your Majesty’s great and unexampled goodness hath prevented us. In that most auspicious moment in which you first sat down in the chair, to which God and your right have advanced you, you were pleased in our favour to make that admirable declaration, which we ought to write down in letters of gold, and engrave in marble. However, we shall treasure it up in our hearts as the greatest foundation of comfort, which this world can afford us in our present condition. So that we have nothing to ask your Majesty, but that you would be (what you have always been observed to be) yourself; that is, generous and just and true to all you once declare; nor any thing to tender in return

to your Majesty, but our most humble thanks, with our hearts and affections, our lives and fortunes, together with our ardent prayers to Almighty God (which shall never be wanting), that he would make the rest of your Majesty's reign happy and prosperous, and suitable to these glorious beginnings; and at last crown your Majesty with his own glory in the world that is to come."

The Archbishop officiated at the ceremony of the coronation of James II.; and the fact of his placing with his own hands the crown on the head of this monarch seems to have greatly contributed to bind his attachment to him as his only lawful sovereign, and to confirm him in the steady refusal to transfer, under the subsequent change, his allegiance to another. One remarkable deviation from established usage took place at the coronation of James II., in the omission of the administration of the Holy Communion* according to the rites of the church of England. This omission was of

* In Bishop Tanner's Papers, v. 31. p. 91. are Archbishop Sancroft's private memoranda respecting the coronation of James the Second. Referring to the part of the service where the communion is usually administered, he says, "Now the king and queen being crowned, the archbishop should immediately begin the communion: but, *there being no communion*, here follow the final prayers."

course made, if not by the express direction, at least, in conformity with the known wishes of the king, who, as a Papist, had conscientious objections to receiving the sacrament according to those rites. It was alleged by some persons that the archbishop departed from the line of conduct which became him, when he consented to perform the ceremony with such an important omission. Undoubtedly, it may be allowed, that he would have acted more in consistency with that striking feature in his character of rigid and unbending firmness, had he peremptorily insisted on performing the whole ceremony without any such omission, if he performed it at all. At the same time, it may be reasonably doubted whether, on a sound view of the case, this refusal would have been justifiable. James was an avowed Papist; a fact which implied a conscientious objection to receive the communion according to the rites of the church of England; and parliament, by refusing to exclude him from the succession, although he was an avowed Papist, had for the time sanctioned the principle that a Papist might sit on the throne. It might, therefore, be said to have indirectly consented, that the coronation ceremony should be performed in such a manner as a Papist could conscientiously comply with. Add to this, if the primate had refused to perform the ceremony with the omission which

circumstances rendered necessary, it might have been expected that the other bishops would do the same; and thus, the singular case would have occurred of the heads of the church refusing to crown a sovereign whom the legislature acknowledged. It has been stated,* however, that Archbishop Sancroft afterwards reproached

* See Salmon's *Lives of English Bishops*, p. 96. He refers for this assertion to a note in Kennett's *History of England*, which, however, is not to be found according to his reference. The following is the letter of King James to the Archbishop, requiring his attendance at the coronation, and his performance of the duties which belonged to him. The terms in which it is expressed show that it would have been, to say the least, a very ungracious act in the archbishop to refuse officiating in the ceremony.

“ JAMES R.

“ Most reverend Father in God, we greet you well. Whereas we have appointed the 23d day of April next for the solemnity of our and our royal consort the queen's coronation : These are therefore to will and command you, all excuses set apart, that you make your personal attendance on us, at the time abovementioned, to do and perform such services as shall be required and belong unto you. And we do further require you to send forthwith circular letters to the respective bishops of your province, enjoining them to attend us at the same time, whereof you and they are not to fail. And so we bid you very hearty farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 23d day of March, 1684, in the first year of our reign.

“ *To the Most Reverend Father in God,*

“ *William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury,*

“ *Primate of all England and Metropolitan.*”

See Registr. Sancroft, fol. 337.

himself for consenting to this omission, and that the circumstance lay heavy on his spirits.

In 1685, the subject of the ordination of ministers of the church, in strict conformity with what was required by the canons, again drew the attention of Archbishop Sancroft. He summoned a meeting of some of the bishops of his province at Lambeth Palace, and the following excellent resolutions were agreed upon, to be adopted in their own practice, and to be recommended for adoption to the other bishops, for the combined purposes of enforcing a more careful selection of persons for the ministry, and a more strict adherence to the canons of the church, as to the age at which ordination was conferred, the seasons of the year for ordaining, and other similar particulars.

Articles for the better Regulation of Ordinations and Institutions and other admissions to Cure of Souls, into which much abuse and uncanonical practices have lately crept.*

It is agreed by and between the Archbishop and Bishops of the province of Canterbury, and they do hereby mutually and solemnly promise for themselves respectively to one another as followeth.

I. That they will henceforth ordain no man

* See Wilkins's Concilia M. Brit. Archiep. Sancroft.

deacon, except he be twenty-three years old, unless he have a faculty; which the archbishop declares he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion; nor priest, unless he be full and complete twenty-four years old, as it is indispensably required in the preface to the book of ordination; nor unless the canonical age be either by an extract out of the register book of the parish, where the person to be ordained was born, under the hands of the minister and churchwardens there, or if no registers be kept or found there, by some other means sufficiently attested.

II. That they will not admit or institute any person who hath been formerly ordained, to cure of souls, unless it appear by a like testimonial, that when he was ordained he was of canonical age; none but those who are so ordained being by the late act of uniformity and the statute 13 Eliz. c. xii. § 5. capable to be admitted to any benefice with cure.

III. That they will ordain no man deacon or priest, who hath not taken some degree of school in one of the universities of this realm; unless the archbishop, in some extraordinary case, and upon the express desire and request of the bishop ordaining, shall think fit to dispense with this particular, the person so to be dispensed with, being in all things else qualified, as the said thirty-fourth canon requires.

IV. That they will ordain none but such as either have lived within their respective dioceses for the three years last past, and are, upon their own personal knowledge, or by the testimony of three of the neighbouring ministers whom they think fit to rely upon, found to be worthy of what they pretend to, or else do exhibit sufficient and authentic testimony thereof from the bishop, or bishops, within whose jurisdiction they have resided for the last three years, or from some college in one of the universities in which they are or lately have been gremials; to the end that there may be (by one or more of these methods) sufficient moral assurance to the bishop, by competent witnesses, of the good life and conversation of the persons to be ordained; for full three years last past as the said canon requires. And the archbishop does declare, that he will not give any man, beneficed in one diocese, a faculty to take and hold a benefice in another, unless the bishop, in whose diocese he is already beneficed, doth give him a fair dimission and testimony, together with his express consent to that very purpose.

V. That they will admit none to holy orders but such as are presented to some ecclesiastical preferment then void in that diocese, or have some other title specified and allowed in the thirty-third canon; among which a curacy under a parson or vicar, during his pleasure, is

not to be accounted to be one, unless that parson or vicar doth, under his hand and seal, and before witnesses, oblige himself to the bishop both to accept that person “*bona fide*” (when he shall be ordained and licensed by the bishop) to serve under him, and assist him, and also to allow him such salary as the bishops shall approve of, so long as he shall continue doing his duty there; and, lastly, not to put him out of that employment, but for reasons to be allowed by the bishop.

VI. That they will ordain no man, who hath a title allowed by the canon, if the benefice to which that title relates lie within another diocese, except he exhibit letters dimissory from the bishop, in whose diocese his title and employment is.

VII. That they will ordain no man but upon the Lord’s days, immediately following the “*jejunia quatuor temporum*,” except he have a faculty to be ordained “*extra tempora* ;” and such a faculty the archbishop declares he will not grant, but upon very urgent occasion, as (for instance) if one who is not in full orders be presented to some benefice; for of it, since the last act of uniformity, he is not capable, till he be ordained priest.

VIII. That they will ordain no man (of what qualities or gifts soever) both deacon and priest in one day; nor any man priest, until he shall

have continued in the office of a deacon the space of a whole year, and behaved himself faithfully and diligently in the same. And if, upon urgent occasion, it shall, for reasonable causes, seem good unto the bishop to shorten that time, yet, even in that case, there being four times of ordination in the year, he shall give the deacon's order in the end of one Ember week; and (if the case may bear that delay) the priest's order not till the next ensuing; or, in the utmost necessity, not till the Sunday, or holiday next following; and that too not without a faculty. But in the same day none shall be made both deacon and priest, that some decent shadow, at least, or footstep of so ancient and laudable a practice may be retained and observed amongst us.

IX. That they will ordain none but such as shall, a full month before the day of ordination, bring or send to the bishop notice in writing of their desire to enter into holy orders, together with such certificate of their age, and such testimonials of their behaviour and conversation as are above required; to the end that the bishop may (if he think fit) make further inquiry into all particulars, and also give open monitions to all men to except against such as they may perhaps know not to be worthy, as it is expressly required by that excellent canon 1564, and may be performed, as otherwise, so

generally by affixing a schedule of the names of the candidates upon the doors of the cathedral, for as long time before as they are given in: nor any but such as shall also repair personally to the bishop in the beginning of the Ember week, or on Thursday in that week at the latest, to the end that there may be time for the strict and careful examination of every person so to be ordained, both by the archdeacon, and by the bishop himself, and such other as shall assist him at the imposition of hands, or he shall think fit to employ herein; and that they may also be present in the cathedral, and observe the solemn fast, and join in the solemn prayers, which are at that time to be put up to God in their behalf.

X. Lastly, That some time in the week, after every ordination, whether “intra” or “extra tempora,” the bishop ordaining shall send a certificate under his hand and seal, attested by the archdeacon, and such other clergymen as assisted at the ordination, containing the names and surnames of all the persons then ordained, the place of their birth, their age, the college where they were educated, with the degree they have taken in the university, the title upon which they are ordained, and upon whose letters dimissory, if they came out of another diocese; to which shall be subjoined a particular account of all such as then offered them-

selves to ordination, and were refused; as also of the reasons for which the bishop refused them. All which the archbishop doth undertake, and promise to cause to be entered into a leger book for that purpose, to the end that it may be, as it were “ecclesial matricula” for this province.

W. CANT.

W. ASAPH.

WILLIAM NORWICH.

FRAN. ELY.

THO. BATH ET WELLS.

But our attention must now be turned to the state of public affairs, in which the interests of the church were materially concerned. Notwithstanding King James’s professions on ascending the throne, he soon gave no equivocal proofs of his designs against the Protestant religion, by surrounding himself with Popish counsellors, and pursuing a course of measures, the tendency of which could not be mistaken. The Protestant clergy, excited by the tone of increased confidence which the Papists assumed, and the eagerness with which they endeavoured to propagate their tenets, naturally felt it their duty to augment their exertions in justifying, in their public discourses, the great principles of the Reformation, in pointing out in forcible terms the errors of the Roman Catholic Church, and in defending their own faith at those points

at which it was most violently assailed. The effect of this zeal and activity on the part of the clergy of the Established Church was felt by the Papists as a powerful obstacle to the accomplishment of their hopes; and some measure appeared necessary to restrain them in the course which they were thus actively pursuing. With this view, James published directions* to the archbishops, to be through them conveyed to the clergy, "to prohibit their preaching on controversial points." The pretended object was to allay the heats and animosities which prevailed among Christians of different sects; but the real design was too plain to be mistaken, that of silencing the Protestant clergy, in order that the active zeal of the Roman Catholics might have free scope for producing its effect.

But the ministers of the Established Church were not to be restrained from doing their duty on points where conscientious feeling was so deeply concerned, by authority to which, in such a matter, they could not defer. In proportion as they saw the designs against their religion gradually developed, and assuming a

* Bearing date, March 25, 1685. See Kennett's History, v. iii. p. 454. These directions had been before published by Charles II. at the beginning of his reign, with the real design of calming the violent religious heats which then prevailed. They were now adopted by James with a very different design.

less doubtful character, they redoubled their activity in endeavouring to fix deeply on the minds of their congregations principles of firm attachment to the Protestant cause. No period, in fact, has occurred since the Reformation, in which the learning and talents of eminent members of the church have been more zealously employed in justifying the grounds on which it stands, and in defending its doctrines and discipline against the Papists. The discourses and other writings, which were then composed, form collectively perhaps the most powerful bulwark against those adversaries, which has ever been produced.

King James, however, was not to be turned from his purpose by ordinary obstacles. Finding that his directions to the clergy failed in the designed effect of inducing them to forego the defence of their religion, he had recourse, in the early part of 1686, to a powerful engine for reducing them to subjection and obedience; viz. the establishment of a Commission for the purpose of inquiring into, and punishing, ecclesiastical offences. The powers given to the members of this Commission were of the most formidable character; they could summon before them persons of any rank in the church, could proceed upon mere suspicion, could punish by suspension, privation, and excommunication; and they were authorized to execute diligently

their office, “ notwithstanding any laws or statutes of the realm.”

The appointment of this Commission was generally felt to be a direct attack on the liberties of the country, and an illegal assumption of authority on the part of the crown. The immediate design too with which it was appointed, that of intimidating and humbling the Protestant clergy, was too clear to be mistaken. It is true that the power of delegating ecclesiastical authority to commissioners, had been exercised by the first Protestant sovereigns of England, and had been sanctioned by an express statute in the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign; yet the exercise of it had been conducted with so much severity, and had given rise to so many arbitrary exactions, that an express repeal of this statute was enacted, in the 17th of Charles I. In this repealing act, it was declared, that the clause empowering the sovereign to commission any persons to exercise ecclesiastical jurisdiction should be void for ever, and that no new court pretending to such jurisdiction should ever be established.

In order to lull the suspicions of the people respecting the design with which the commission was instituted, and to diminish the unpopularity of the measure, James named as commissioners three prelates of the church, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Crew, Bishop

of Durham, and Sprat, Bishop of Rochester: but, on the other hand, among the four lay commissioners some, it is stated, were Roman Catholics; and, what was most important to his views, Jeffreys, then Lord Chancellor, was one of them, whose consent was made absolutely necessary to render valid any act of the commission.

The Archbishop of Canterbury, without hesitation, declined to act in this commission. He alleged, as his nominal plea, his great age and infirmities; but there cannot be the slightest doubt that his real objection was to the measure itself, and that he spurned at the idea of being made a tool for assisting in the purposes which the measure was intended to promote. He deemed it, however, preferable, on various grounds, to suffer his real motives to be inferred by the king, than directly to express them.

The following are the terms of his petition to the king, in which he declined the appointment.*

“ TO THE KING’S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
 “ The humble Petition of William, Archbishop
 “ of Canterbury,
 “ Showeth,—That your petitioner hath now

* See Appendix to Clarendon’s Diary, from Tanner’s Papers.

almost completed the threescore and tenth year of his life; that the infirmities which usually attend so great an age are already (and grow daily more and more) upon him; that the affairs of the church within the province of Canterbury are so many and so great, that they require all the application and diligence which any one person (though of better health, and greater vigour of body and mind than your petitioner is,) can possibly use: your petitioner, therefore, with the most profound submission, throwing himself down at your Majesty's feet, most humbly and earnestly beseecheth your Majesty, that you would be pleased graciously to dispense with his attendance upon the execution of your late commission for causes ecclesiastical, in which so many great and able persons are engaged; to the end he may the better mind those things which belong to his single care, and have the more leisure, without obstruction, as to bless God for this your royal indulgence, so also to pray continually for all the blessings of heaven to be showered down upon your royal person, family and government."

Bishop Burnet, ever eager to seize every opportunity of throwing out invidious insinuations against Archbishop Sancroft, instead of

giving him credit for refusing to be made a tool on this occasion in furthering the purposes of the king and the party which surrounded him, blames him for not having acted with all the energy and spirit which became him. He says "Sancroft lay silent at Lambeth. He seemed zealous against popery in private discourse, but he was of such a timorous temper, and so set on the enriching his nephew, that he showed no sort of courage. He would not go to this court when it was first opened, and declare against it, and give his reasons why he could not sit and act in it, judging it to be against law, but he contented himself with his not going to it."*

Here, in the first place, it is clear that Burnet was misinformed as to the fact. The Archbishop did not content himself with not going to the Commission court; but he addressed, as we have seen, a petition to the king, excusing himself in respectful terms, on the ground of age and infirmities: thereby expressing, in terms not to be misunderstood by the king, his opinion of the Commission itself, and his clear disapprobation of the course of measures which it was intended to further. Whether it would have been more consistent with true cou-

* Burnet's Own Times, ii. 676.

rage and wisdom, to repair to the Commission court and openly protest against it, as Burnet intimates he ought to have done, may admit of considerable doubt. The Archbishop probably thought, and wisely thought, that it is no light matter for a person in his station to set an example to the world of public and open opposition to the authority of his lawful sovereign; because what might be intended for good in this individual instance might be turned to purposes of evil by others, who would be ready to quote and to follow his example. He probably felt, that the necessity of the case ought fully to justify and to call for so strong a measure, before it was resorted to; and he hoped, no doubt, at this time, that the king was not so entirely given over to infatuated counsels, as to make avowed opposition absolutely necessary to turn him from them. If such was then his feeling and such his hope, it was clearly the line dictated by duty and by prudence, rather to signify his disapprobation in the manner he did, than publicly to declare it. As to the insinuations respecting his timorous nature, and his want of courage, his subsequent conduct in firmly opposing the attempts of the king against the civil and religious liberties of the nation, when his perseverance in evil counsels made such opposition absolutely necessary, must, in

the judgment of every impartial person, fully exempt him from such a charge, and ought to have exempted him from the illiberal imputation of it. The assertion of his having been too much engaged in attending to the private emoluments of his family, to take the part which became him in the line of his public duties, may be safely considered as the mere effusion of spleen and ill-humour.

It sufficiently appears, from Archbishop Sancroft's papers,* that he did not lightly come to a decision on this important matter; but that, as was his habit on all occasions, he took great pains to form a correct opinion, by inquiring into the state of the law, perusing with attention all that was to be urged on both sides of the question, and noting the arguments and observations which occurred to himself. Copious collections relating to this subject are still extant, written with his own hand, containing, as appears, partly the statements and opinions of others, and partly his own. He considers that there were two points which concerned the line of conduct he should take, first, whether a subject was compellible generally to serve even in a lawful matter without his free consent; and secondly, whether this Commission court was

* See Tann. MSS. v. 460.

lawful or unlawful.—The following is a specimen of the manner in which he discusses it. After stating, generally, the right of the state to the services of the subject, and after mentioning a case in which Coke and other judges refused to sit in the high Commission court, because it contained points against the laws, he proceeds—*

“ But even in lawful commissions granted for the public good, who can tell me of any that ever was punished for refusing to be judge, sergeant at law, justice of peace, &c., or so much as questioned? Suppose a Commission of seven; any three, A being one of them; if A sits not, he is punishable, because it would cause a failure of justice, which the law abhors. But, if A sits, and any two with him, the proceedings are not retarded, the Commission may be executed, and the neglecters not punishable. And this Coke pleaded for his refusing to sit in the high commission (*inter alia*) because there were other judges and commissioners enough to speed it.

“ Now he that gives Coke's reason for not sitting in the present high Commission (that is, because it is unlawful,) pleads to the jurisdiction of the court; which is a ticklish thing.

* See Tann. MSS. v. 460. p. 149.

For he will be overruled, and at last pronounced contumax, and all alleged against him will be taken pro confesso. Notwithstanding, the question remains, whether the new court be lawful or no. It seems not, because the statute 17 Ch. I. not only takes away the then high Commission court, but also prohibits for the future any new court to be erected with the like powers and authorities. Now the powers granted by this new Commission are the same which the former commissioners had, by virtue of the statute 1 Eliz. c. 1.; and by consequence the exercise of them is illegal, and all acts, sentences and decrees thereupon, utterly void, and of no effect in law."

A substitute for the Archbishop of Canterbury in the Commission was readily found in Cartwright, Bishop of Chester, a mere tool of the court. It is suspected, and not without reason, that, after the Archbishop's refusal to act, the king and his advisers had doubts as to the expediency of persevering in the measure. Certain it is, that, although the Commission court was appointed as early in the year as the beginning of April,* it was not called into action till the following August. At that time, the temper and spirit in which its proceedings were

* Kennett's History, v. iii. p. 456.

conducted were shown to be of such a nature as to justify, to the fullest extent, the propriety of the Archbishop's conduct in refusing absolutely to have any concern in it.

The instance in which the Commission was first brought into action, is the well-known case of Compton, Bishop of London.* The king, in his anxiety to suppress the activity of the clergy in directing their discourses at this peculiar juncture against the errors of popery, had required the bishop to suspend Dr. J. Sharp,† Rector of St. Giles's, an able and popular preacher, for having preached in defence of the Protestant cause, and in opposition to popery, in a manner which was interpreted into an endeavour "to beget in the minds of his hearers an ill opinion of the king's government, to dispose them to discontent, and lead them to rebellion." On the bishop's refusing to do so, on the ground that he could not conscientiously

* Hume, in relating these events, speaks of the Ecclesiastical Commission, as an expedient employed for the purpose of punishing the Bishop of London; as if it was instituted after the commission of his offences. But the fact is, that the commission court was established, as has here been stated, in the beginning of April, for the general purpose of enforcing the measures of the king; while the king's letter to the Bishop of London respecting Dr. Sharp, which led to the proceedings against him, is dated on the 14th of the following June.

* Afterwards Archbishop of York.

condemn and punish any individual without citation and regular process of law, he was summoned before the Commission to answer for this offence of contempt of the king's authority. He at first pleaded against the jurisdiction of the court; and, on this plea being overruled, defended himself against the charge of contempt by showing, that he really did comply with the king's injunction as far as he legally and conscientiously could; for he immediately desired Dr. Sharp to desist from preaching altogether till the legal inquiry into his conduct could take place. But all was to no purpose when the determination was already formed to strike terror into the clergy by punishing one in so eminent a station. A sentence of the court passed, by which the bishop was suspended from all his episcopal functions and jurisdiction.

An opinion generally prevailed, that there existed an intention of citing the Archbishop of Canterbury before the ecclesiastical Commission; and when it is considered that the direct object of the court was to proceed by intimidation, and that the Archbishop, by declining to sit in the Commission, must have given great offence to the king and his advisers, it is highly probable that there was some foundation for the rumour. What pretence of a charge was

to be alleged against him, has never been stated; but experience has always shown that, when arbitrary power is bent on pursuing its measures, it is never long at a loss for a pretence on which those measures may be founded. It is certain that the Archbishop himself expected to be cited before the Commission. With a view to this, he kept a paper by him ready drawn up, protesting against the jurisdiction of the court. It is known that he disapproved of the course taken by the Bishop of London, who, after his plea against the jurisdiction of the court was overruled, pleaded to the charges brought against him, and thereby, in effect, allowed the authority of the court. The Archbishop's intention was first to protest against the legality of the court; then to refuse to answer before it to the charges brought against him; and afterwards to defend himself at common law against any sentence which might be passed. It has been stated, that it was generally known that such was the course the Archbishop intended to pursue; and that the fear of the consequence of this proceeding was the reason for which he was not cited.

Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who at first sat as one of the commissioners, but afterwards declined, and, subsequently to the Revolution, published an apology for his conduct,

states, that among other eminent instances in which he successfully laboured to relieve the clergy from oppression, is “one which concerns my Lord of Canterbury.” He says, I am confident his grace would bear testimony that I served him honestly and industriously on some occasions, “when he was likely to be embroiled with the Commission; which, from the course he designed to pursue, would inevitably have ended in his suspension at least.” From the expression here used, it would seem that the Commission court advanced beyond the vague disposition to attack the Archbishop, and that some ground of process against him was either begun or determined on; at least, that some intimations of the intention were openly made. All that is certain is, that no steps were actually taken, and that the Archbishop never was summoned to appear before them.

This refusal of Archbishop Sancroft to sit in the ecclesiastical Commission appears to have given great offence to James, having been well understood by him in the sense which it was intended to convey. It is stated* that, from about this period, he was forbidden to appear at court. It is remarkable, however, that in the

* See the account of the presentation of the Bishop's petition in Archbishop Sancroft's hand writing.—Tann. MSS. v. 28.

month of July in this year, we find him writing a letter to the king on the subject of the appointment to some vacant ecclesiastical preferments. It appears that he had received his Majesty's command some time before, to give his opinion as to these appointments. Probably this command had been conveyed to him before he had forfeited to so great a degree the royal favour, by refusing to act in the Commission. But, as he could not be otherwise than aware that, under the counsels to which the king was now devoted, there was great danger of his nominating persons most unworthy of these eminent stations, and whose appointment would be most injurious to the church, he deemed it his duty to make the recommendation of proper persons, although he could entertain but small hope that, under the circumstances, his recommendation would avail. The letter* which he addressed to the king on the subject was expressed in the following terms.

July 29th, 1686.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

“When last I had the happiness to attend upon your Majesty, you were most graciously pleased so far to descend as to demand

* See Tann. MSS. v. 30. 20. 69.

the advice of your poor servant for the filling of three vacancies now in the church, and to allow me time to consider of it. I would not have presumed to have given my answer otherwise than at the feet of my sovereign lord, had not my age and infirmities, some of which are come upon me even since I was last at Hampton Court, disabled me for the journey. As it is, with all humility, I beg your Majesty's pardon that I take the boldness to represent as followeth. The episcopal chair of Oxford will be most decently and worthily filled with that person whom your Majesty mentioned, Dr. South. His merit is every way so great, that I have nothing to wish but that the revenue of the place were as worthy of him as he is of the place. But your Majesty may, if you please, supply that defect by what you shall allow him to hold with it in commendam. For Christ's Church, it is a most flourishing society, and hath bred vast numbers of worthy persons fit for any station in the church; but I am a stranger there, and yet, I will be bold to say, with some confidence, that there are not in that great multitude two more excellent persons better qualified to supply any vacancy there than Dr. Hody of Lambeth, and Mr. Wigan of Kensington. To the bishopric of Chester, I dare recommend to your Majesty

him whom I formerly commended (as your Majesty may remember) to the see of St. David's; for I have not a worse opinion of him than I had, but a better. My Lord High Chancellor, were he not over-generous, might have done this office decently enough, as I do it, who present the person to your Majesty, as Dr. Jeffreys, a very worthy clergyman, not as my Lord Chancellor's brother. Yet one thing, I trust, my Lord will not refuse to do for him. The diocese is very large, and the yearly income but narrow, without the parsonage of Wigan; and that hangs so loose from it that the trustees may give it to whom they please. But I doubt not, his lordship's powerful hand may fix it and secure it to the bishop.

“ And now let not my sovereign be displeased, nor count me over bold, and I will adventure one step further. A petition for the founding and endowing of your Majesty's school, and establishing a course of perpetual public prayers there, (wherein your Majesty's royal person, family and government will be morning and evening recommended to the blessings of heaven,) at Harlston in Norfolk, was sometime since presented to your Majesty. The matter of it, I am secure, is both just and charitable, and the manner of it, I hope, not immodest. I beseech you, Sir, pronounce your

final resolution upon it, which cannot displease or grieve me whatever it may be: for I shall rather love a denial from your Majesty, than a grant from my fellow subject: being, as

“ I am,

“ May it please your Majesty,

“ Your most humble, faithful, and obedient

“ Subject and Servant,

“ W. CANT.”

It will not be deemed surprising that King James, under his existing views and designs, instead of accepting the Archbishop's recommendation of persons qualified to adorn these stations, should rather place in them those who were likely to be convenient tools in forwarding his purposes adverse to the interests of the Protestant church. The individuals appointed to fill the bishoprics were, Parker to that of Oxford, and Cartwright to that of Chester, Bishop Burnet says, that they were the two worst men that could be selected, and that they were pitched upon as the fittest instruments that could be found among the clergy to betray and ruin the church. All historians agree that they were persons rather calculated to degrade the situations, than to fill them with credit; and it was fully proved, during the subsequent events, that they were prepared to support to

any extent the designs of the court against the church. So unpopular were these appointments, that an intention seems to have existed at one time, on the part of the leading persons in the church, of endeavouring to prevent their taking effect. Bishop Burnet states, that "some of the bishops brought to Archbishop Sancroft articles against them, which they desired he would offer to the king in council, and pray that the mandate for consecrating them might be delayed till time was given to examine particulars." He adds that Bishop Lloyd told him "that Sancroft promised him not to consecrate them till he had examined the truth of the articles, of which some were too scandalous to be repeated. Yet, when Sancroft saw what danger he might incur, if he were sued in a premunire, he consented to consecrate them."

As we have no knowledge of this transaction from any other source, we have no means of ascertaining what really did take place; and whether Archbishop Sancroft deemed the articles of sufficient importance to be laid before the king in council. It is probable that there is some mistake in the assertion of his having promised not to consecrate till he had examined the truth of the articles; for this would have been nothing less than to assume to himself a negative on the appointment of the crown; and

it must have been well known to him that a legal process would at once compel him to obey the mandate for the consecration. The two new bishops were consecrated in the chapel at Lambeth Palace on the 17th October.

The appointment made by the king to the deanery of Christchurch was of a still worse description. The person nominated was John Massey, a Papist; and, what does not appear to have been known at the time, the king granted a dispensation to enable him to be admitted to the deanery without taking the oaths.*

An instance occurred soon after, in which Archbishop Sancroft felt himself called upon, on a less public and important occasion than that in which he afterwards acted, to unite with other leading persons in opposing the dispensing power illegally assumed by James.

A letter† was addressed by the king to the governors of the Charterhouse, requiring them to admit one Andrew Popham to the situation of a pensioner in that hospital, on his nomination, “without tendering any oath or oaths to him or requiring of him any subscription or

* See Tann. MSS. v. 460. No. 99. and Gutch's *Miscell. Curiosa*, v. i. p. 294.

† See an account of proceedings at the Charterhouse, supposed to be written by Dr. Burnet,

recognition or other act or acts in conformity to the doctrine and discipline of the church of England—and notwithstanding any statute, order, or constitution in the said hospital.”

This letter, bearing date 17th December, was referred to a meeting of the governors on the 7th of the following January, when the Archbishop of Canterbury presided. The Lord Chancellor Jeffreys moved that they should immediately proceed to vote for the admission. On this, Dr. T. Burnet, then Master of the Charterhouse, who was to give the first vote, explained to the meeting that to admit a person without taking the oaths was contrary both to the constitutions of the house and to an express act of parliament. The question was then put and carried in the negative.

As soon as this was decided, the Lord Chancellor, and those who were disappointed by this vote, flung themselves suddenly away, so that there were not sufficient left to transact the business; otherwise it was the wish of those governors who refused to comply with the king's letter, to draw up immediately an answer to it. The king afterwards sent them a second letter on the subject. The Archbishop of Canterbury tried several times to collect another meeting, but did not succeed till the 24th of June; when a letter was agreed upon

to be addressed to the Earl of Middleton, Secretary of State, who should convey the matter of it to the king. In this, after reciting the purport of the two letters they had received from the king, they proceed—‘ Which letters were received with the respect due to whatsoever cometh from his Majesty. And it hath not been any fault of ours, that an answer hath not been sooner returned; several assemblies having been appointed in order to it, but there were not, at those times, so many governors in or about town in a condition to attend, as would make up the number directed by the constitutions. We could not till now acquaint your lordship that, upon debate of the aforesaid letters, it is agreed to represent, in the most humble manner, to his Majesty, by your lordship’s means and through your hands, that we apprehend ourselves to be tied up, and to lie under such strict obligations, that we are not at liberty to comply with what is required of us, for these reasons :

“ That the said hospital is of a private foundation, and the governors obliged to act according to the constitutions of the same;

“ That, by an act of parliament made in the 3rd year of Charles I. of blessed memory, it is enacted, that every poor man to be elected and admitted into the said hospital shall, be-

fore he receive the benefit of any such place, take the oaths of supremacy and allegiance.

“ Therefore, we pray your lordship to represent to his Majesty, that we conceive we cannot, with a faithful discharge of our trust, admit the said Andrew Popham. This we pray your lordship to represent to his Majesty in the most humble manner; whereby you will extremely oblige

“ W. CANT.”

And seven others, whose names are subscribed.

This respectful and temperate letter did not produce the desired effect, of inducing the king to desist from his purpose. It is stated that he desired the lord chancellor to devise some mode of maintaining his rights, and that various threats were held out of severe proceedings in preparation against the disobedient governors. However, greater events intervened, and the affair was never prosecuted.

In the course of the ensuing year, Archbishop Sancroft received the following letter* from Mary Princess of Orange, and afterwards Queen of England. It attests, in a remarkable manner, the strong interest she then took in the welfare of the English church, and her satisfaction at the disposition shown by the clergy to maintain its doctrines and its discipline.

* See Tann. MSS. v. 29. No. 54.

To the Archbishop of Canterbury.

“ Loo, October 1st, 1687.

“ Though I have not the advantage to know you, my Lord of Canterbury, yet the reputation you have makes me resolve not to lose this opportunity of making myself more known to you, than I could have been yet. Dr. Stanly can assure you, that I take more interest in what concerns the Church of England than myself; and that one of the greatest satisfactions I can have, is to hear how that all the clergy show themselves as firm to their religion, as they have always been to their king; which makes me confident God will preserve his church, since he has so well provided it with able men. I have nothing more to say, but beg your prayers, and desire you will do me the justice to believe I shall be very glad of any occasion to show the esteem and veneration I have for you.

“ MARIE.”

To this letter the Archbishop sent the following reply.* It is remarkable for the simplicity

* Tann. MSS. v. 29. No. 71. The editor of *Miscellanea Curiosa* (Oxf. 1781,) states that this answer of Archbishop Sancroft to the Princess was “probably never sent.” But in asserting this he is probably mistaken. He grounds the assertion on a letter subsequently written by Dr. Stanley, then re-

of its expression as well as for the excellent strain of pious feeling in which it is written; and it strongly evinces how deeply his heart was struck with grief and anxiety for the dangers which threatened to overwhelm the Protestant Church.

“Lambeth House, Nov. 3d, 1687.

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

“The high and dear esteem you have of the church and holy religion established amongst us, so emphatically declared in your

siding as chaplain to the Princess, in which that clergyman states that, when he was in England in 1687, he requested the Archbishop to write to the Princess, to encourage her still to give countenance to the Church of England; but “*he was pleased not to write to her*; a circumstance in which he afterwards rejoiced, when he recollected that such a letter might have been construed into an invitation to the Prince and Princess of Orange to come to England.” But here Dr. Stanley manifestly refers to a letter which he wished the Archbishop to write of his own accord, expressly for the purpose of encouraging the Princess to the continued support of the church. The letter now quoted is merely an answer to that which she had sent, and contains no further encouragement to future support of the church than is conveyed in the gratitude expressed for the past. Common courtesy required that he should acknowledge her letter by some answer: and, as that which is now found among his papers bears every mark of having been prepared for the purpose, and is even corrected with considerable care, there seems no room for any reasonable doubt as to its having been sent.

letter with which you were lately pleased to honour me, and the full assurance which further Dr. Stanley gives us, that you hold this pious good affection towards (us), in common with that great and excellent prince in whose bosom you lie, are mighty strong and rich consolations, which, as we never needed more than now, so could they never come more seasonable or welcome to us. It hath seemed good to the Infinite Wisdom to exercise this poor church with trials of all sorts and of all degrees. But the greatest calamity that ever befell us, was that it pleased God, in his wise and just providence, to permit wicked and ungodly men, after they had barbarously murdered the father, to drive out the sons from abiding in the inheritance of the Lord, as if they had said to them, Go and serve other gods. The dreadful effects hereof we still feel every moment, but must not, nay, we cannot, particularly express. And though all this (were it yet much more) cannot in the least shake or alter our steady loyalty to our sovereign and the royal family, in the legal succession of it, yet it embitters the very comforts that are left us; it blasts all our present joys, and makes us sit down with sorrow in dust and ashes. Blessed be God, who in so dark and dismal a night hath caused some dawn

of light to break forth upon us from the eastern shore, in the constancy and good affection of your Royal Highness and the excellent Prince towards us ; for, if this should fail us too, which the God of heaven and earth forbid, our hearts must surely break. And, as our thanksgivings for you both go up before God continually, so we all pray for you without ceasing, that God would crown you with all the blessings of heaven and earth. He hath inspired your Royal Highness (with Mary in the gospel) to choose the better part, and I trust it will never be taken from you. Be faithful unto the death and he will give a crown of life. In the close of all, your Royal Highness's personal but most undeserved grace and favour to your poor unworthy servant must not be forgotten ; by which you have put new life into a dying old man, ready to sink under the double burthen of age and sorrow, but (who) will, so long as God holds his soul in life, continue indeclinably to be what he is upon so many obligations, (may it please your Royal Highness,)

“ Your most devoted faithful Servant,

“ And daily orator at the Throne of Grace,

“ W. C.”

It was in the month of January 168 $\frac{7}{8}$, that Archbishop Sancroft first became acquainted

with the very learned Henry Wharton,* and gave him assurances of his future patronage and favours. This extraordinary young man, then little more than twenty-three years of age, had distinguished himself in a remarkable manner by several proofs of his great talents and extensive erudition. In particular, he had actively assisted in the controversy now carried on against the Papists, and recently published an original treatise of great merit on the celibacy of the clergy, and also a translation from the Latin, with some alterations, of a treatise concerning the incurable scepticism of the church of Rome. The Archbishop seems to have noticed him solely on account of his character and merits; he warmly encouraged him to pursue his studies; and, some time after, placed in his hands the manuscript of Usher's dogmatical History of the Scriptures, desiring him to superintend the publication of it. In the following May, he gave Mr. Wharton, at his own request, what he had never granted to any one before, a license to preach through the whole of

* See in the Appendix, No. I. a paper containing copious extracts made by Dr. Birch from the diary of this eminently able and learned person, drawn up by himself. It is a great literary curiosity, which has never been published before. Some further particulars also are there given respecting Henry Wharton's life and character.

his province. In the ensuing September, he made him one of his domestic chaplains, and, in proof of his favour, signified his intention of collating him to the living of Sundridge in Kent; but, shortly after, instead of this benefice, he collated him to the rectory of Minster, which happened to fall vacant. To this he afterwards added another living, that of Chart-ham; but was prevented by his deprivation from conferring on him some higher preferments which he designed. Mr. Wharton appears to have felt the full force of the obligations he owed to his venerable patron, and continued ever after to show him the greatest attention and respect. It will hereafter appear that, after the Archbishop's deprivation and retirement into the country, Mr. Wharton paid him frequent visits till the time of his death, and made constant tenders of his services and assistance.

During the whole of the year 1687, and the early part of 1688, the Archbishop remained a silent, though not an unobserving, spectator of the progress of those unhappy measures, by which his misguided sovereign was forfeiting the allegiance and good opinion of his subjects, and hastening his own downfall. At last, an occasion occurred in which he felt himself called upon by his feelings of public duty to take prompt and decisive measures, in opposition to

his sovereign, for upholding the dignity of the church; and he obeyed the call in a manner worthy at once of the cause which he supported, of the high station which he filled, and of his own character.

CHAPTER VI.

FROM THE ISSUING THE DECLARATION FOR
LIBERTY OF CONSCIENCE TO THE CONCLU-
SION OF THE BISHOP'S TRIAL.

Declaration for Liberty of Conscience—Order for the Clergy to read it—Active Measures of the Archbishop respecting it—Meetings of the Clergy at Lambeth Palace—Petition of the Seven Bishops—Appearances before the King and Council—Commitment to the Tower—Trial—Acquittal—Rejoicings and Congratulations thereupon.

THE order made by the King in Council, May 4th, 1688, directing the archbishops and bishops to send to the clergy in their respective dioceses the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, to be publicly read in all the pulpits of the kingdom, made it impossible for the Archbishop of Canterbury to abstain any longer from engaging in an open and declared opposition to the counsels under which the king was now unhappily acting.

The Declaration for Liberty of Conscience, in which the king claimed the illegal power of dispensing with the penal laws against Dissenters, and which, though bearing the outward

pretence of tenderness to the consciences of all Dissenters, yet was well understood, and notoriously intended, as a measure for favouring exclusively the Catholic party, had been first published in the spring of 1687. At that time, however, although it was received with strong general disapprobation, yet, as no persons were required to assist in the publication of it, or to take any steps by which they were made instruments in enforcing it, it excited no declared opposition or resistance. Not satisfied with this, the king again published the same Declaration,* on the 27th of April in the following year, to prove, as he stated in the words introducing it, that his intentions remained unchanged since the preceding year. A week after the Declaration was published, he astonished the nation by the following order, requiring all the clergy to read it in their churches.

“ At the Court at Whitehall, May 4th.

“ It is this day ordered by his Majesty in Council, that his Majesty’s late gracious Decla-

* It is certain that the Declaration for Liberty of Conscience was opposed to the general feeling of the people. Still there were not wanting some few towns and corporations which voted to the king addresses of thanks for it.—See the Gazettes of those times. Among other addresses, is one inserted in the Gazette, (May 3d, 1688,) from “ the old dissenting officers and soldiers of the county of Lincoln.”

ration, bearing date the 27th of April last, be read at the usual time of divine service, on the 20th and 27th of this month, in all churches and chapels, within the cities of London and Westminster, and ten miles thereabout; and upon the 3d and 10th of June next, in all other churches and chapels throughout this kingdom. And it is hereby further ordered, that the Right Reverend the Bishops cause the said Declaration to be sent and distributed throughout their several and respective dioceses to be read accordingly.”*

* Bishop Burnet takes occasion, in remarking on this order to the clergy, to make an ill-natured reflection on Archbishop Sancroft. He says, (see his *Own Times*, v. i. 736.) that “now was perceived the bad effect which was likely to follow from that officious motion of Sancroft for obliging the clergy to read the king’s Declaration in 1681, after the dissolution of the Oxford parliament.” That Declaration was a sort of appeal to the people on the part of the king, against the conduct of the three last parliaments towards him. Burnet states (*Ibid.* p. 500.) that, when this passed in council, Archbishop Sancroft moved that an order should be added, requiring the clergy to publish it in all the churches of England. It is certain that such an order was made, and that the clergy complied with it; but, that it was made at the express instance of Archbishop Sancroft, seems to rest on no other authority than that of Burnet.—Perhaps Hume is not very wrong when he says—“These orders (in Charles’s time) were agreeable to their (the clergy’s) party prejudices, and they willingly submitted to them. The contrary was now (in James’s time) the case.” The king’s letter to Archbishop Sancroft, in 1681, conveying the order to the clergy,

It can admit of no doubt that this order was intended for the express purpose of insulting and degrading the clergy. This body, it was known, highly disapproved the Declaration; they had given great offence to James by the activity they had shown in their writings and discourses, in opposing the dissemination of popery; and by their influence and exertions they opposed the most effectual obstacles to the success of his designs. The device, therefore, of making them instrumental in forwarding a measure to which they were known to be being a scarce document, is here subjoined.—See Lambeth MSS. v. 943. p. 827.

“ CHARLES R.

“ Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty and entirely beloved counsellor, we greet you well. Whereas we have thought fit to publish a Declaration to all our loving subjects, touching the causes and reasons that moved us to dissolve the two last parliaments; and have likewise ordered the same to be read in all churches and chapels, throughout this our kingdom of England; our will and pleasure is, that you forthwith give such directions as have been usual in like cases, or as you shall judge most expedient and requisite in this, for the reading of our said Declaration, in all and every the churches and chapels within your province of Canterbury, at the time of divine service upon some Lord's day, and that the same be done with all convenient speed that may be. And so we bid you most heartily farewell. Given at our Court at Whitehall, the 11th day of April, 1681, in the thirty-third year of our reign.

“ By his Majesty's command.

“ L. JENKINS.”

decidedly adverse, seemed calculated, above every other, to gratify his resentment against them, and to humble them in the eyes of the people.

The clergy were now placed in the difficult situation of either disobeying a positive command of the king, or of consenting to their own degradation, by concurring in a measure to which they felt conscientious objections. The parochial clergy who were to receive the order through their ecclesiastical superiors, naturally looked to them for advice and assistance in the emergency; and it was very generally felt that, if any resistance or expostulation was to take place, it was obviously proper, on every ground, that it should begin with those prelates whose station would give weight to the expression of their opinions. Many of the bishops felt the full force of the call of duty which was made upon them, and promptly obeyed it; the Archbishop of Canterbury, in particular, took the lead, as became him, on the occasion; and, both in suggesting and in directing the measures which were taken, acted with a degree of spirit, activity, and decision, which reflects infinite credit on his character, and extorted unqualified praise even from Bishop Burnet.*

* See Burnet's Own Times, v. i. p. 738.

From the first publication of the obnoxious order, the Archbishop seems to have employed himself in consulting with the most eminent of the clergy who were in or near London. At the same time he addressed letters to those of the bishops in whose opinions he most confided, requesting them to come to London without delay. The following,* found among his papers, seems to be the form of letter which he dispatched to some or all of the absent bishops.

“MY LORD,

“This is only in my own name, and in the name of some of our brethren now here upon the place, earnestly to desire you, immediately upon the receipt of this letter, to come hither with what convenient speed you can, not taking notice to any that you are sent for. Wishing you a prosperous journey, and us all a happy meeting,

“I remain

“Your very loving brother.”

The following answer† to his application, sent by Dr. Tillotson, deserves to be preserved on account of the celebrity of the writer.

* See Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 21.

† Ibid. 28, 29.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“ Though I am very sensible how unfit I am to advise in difficult cases, yet I could never forgive myself, if I should be wanting to our religion and church in any thing wherein your Grace shall think I may be in the least serviceable; and therefore I shall not fail, God willing, to wait upon your Grace to-morrow morning at the hour appointed. I humbly beg your Grace’s blessing, and remain,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s most obedient

“ Son and Servant,

“ JO. TILLOTSON.”

On Saturday the 12th of May, a partial meeting took place at Lambeth Palace, of some of the bishops and clergy;* when, after full consi-

* See Clarendon’s Diary, 1688.—Saturday, May 12. The Earl of Clarendon, who appears to have maintained great intimacy with the Archbishop of Canterbury, and many of the bishops, was present at this consultation. He says “ I dined at Lambeth, where likewise dined the Bishops of London, Ely, and Peterborough, Chester and St. David’s. The two last decomposed the company, nobody caring to speak before them. Quickly after dinner they went away. Then the Archbishop and the rest took into consideration the reading of the Declaration in the churches, according to the order of council; and after full deliberation, it was resolved not to do it. Dr. Tennison was present at all the debate. The resolution was, to petition the

deration of the matter of the reading the Declaration in the churches, it was resolved that the order to this effect should not be complied with. It was determined that a petition should be presented to the king on the subject, but that, before this was done, steps should be taken to collect in London as many of the bishops as were within reach. The Archbishop seems to have held at this time daily consultations with the clergy* on this very important subject. When at last as many of the bishops who had been sent for, as were expected, had arrived, another meeting† took place at Lambeth Palace on Friday, May 18th. There were present at it the following Bishops: Dr. Compton of London, Dr. Lloyd of St. Asaph, Dr. Turner

king in the matter, but first to get as many bishops to town as were within reach; and, in order thereunto, that the Bishops of Winchester, Norwich, Gloucester, St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol and Chichester, be written to, to come to town."

* Clarendon's Diary, May 16. "The Bishop of St. Asaph came to town before noon; he alighted at my house and dined with me. I sent for the Bishop of Ely. In the afternoon, they two went to Lambeth. They told me most of the city clergy had resolved not to read the Declaration. The Bishop of Winchester sent his excuse to the Archbishop, being indisposed.—May 17, Thursday. The Bishops of St. Asaph and Ely, Dr. Tennison, and Dr. Patrick dined with me. In the afternoon they went to Lambeth."

† Tann. MSS. v. 28. Nos. 26, 27, 28, 30.

of Ely, Dr. Lake of Chichester, Dr. Kenn of Bath and Wells, Dr. White of Peterborough, and Sir Jonathan Trelawney of Bristol; Dr. Tillotson, Dean of Canterbury; Dr. Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's; Dr. Patrick, Dean of Peterborough; Dr. Tenison, Vicar of St. Martin's; Dr. Sherlock, Master of the Temple, and Dr. Grove, Rector of St. Andrew's Undershaft.

After reading prayers, they entered on a serious and mature discussion of the subject. The following is given as the substance of what passed at the deliberation.* It was urged—That the matter of the Declaration was altogether illegal, the footing upon which it stood being a power, not only to dispense in contingent and particular cases, for which if the lawgivers could have foreseen them, they would have provided a dispensation; but it was to dispense with all sorts of laws, in cases contrary to the very design and end of making them: That this was not properly a dispensing but a disannulling power, highly prejudicial to the king himself, because it took away that faith and trust which the people repose in him when a law is made, which they look upon as their security: That it was true, each bishop or minister was not a capable judge in such

* See Kennett's History, iii, 482.

cases; but however, he was a judge for his own private conscience, against which he must not go: That this case was publicly adjudged in parliament in 1672: That the general forbearance of addresses, grounded upon the illegality of that dispensing power, showed this to have been the judgment of the greatest part of the clergy and others: That the declaration of the present judges went no farther than the particular military case of Sir Edward Hales, which, in whatsoever words it was expressed, yet never came legally to the cognizance of the subject: That an unlawful matter was not to be published, if he who published it thought the matter unlawful; for it cannot come to him, being illegal, by any authority; for the king can do no illegal thing;—and, if his officers do it, they do it not by the king's authority, and therefore, the refusing of it is no disobedience, being no illegal refusal: That if then the bishops should publish the Declaration, they would do it voluntarily as their own act, and consequently would publish an illegal thing without legal authority, and would be punishable for it: That many and great were the ill consequences of reading the Declaration—first, that many would justly judge the clergy either cowards or hypocritical time-servers, in publishing what they thought illegal and illegally sent to them—se-

condly, that many who had votes for the House of Commons, would take this for the consent of the publishers, and be strengthened in the choosing such men as should be friends, not only to the Indulgence, but to the foundation of it, the dispensing power;—thirdly, that the world would have reason to take this publication for an approbation, because there could be no other intention in ordering it to be published, but to make the clergy parties to it; for it was as much known before it was read, as it would be after the reading of it; and therefore, the making it known was not the only thing intended;—and fourthly, that, after this, they must expect further things to be published by them, at which they must make a stand; and their making a stand, when they had lost their reputation, would be of no force: That therefore, in prudence as well as in conscience, they ought not to publish a declaration which they knew to be against law, and which, in its nature and design, was levelled against their own interest, and that of their religion.

It was objected by some, that their refusal would be interpreted by the Papists, as a failure in the great principles of loyalty, to which the church of England made pretence: others said, that Dissenters would construe it as a declaration against all tenderness to them; and others

again, that suspension or deprivation of the refusers might follow, whereby the people of their church might be left, as sheep without a shepherd.

To the first objection it was answered, that their non-addressing had been reflected on in books, as well as discourses, but had no effect to blast their loyalty, though the clergy refused to address, even in the branch that made for themselves, because of that one foundation, on which that clause stood with the rest, of a dispensing power: that loyalty being obedience according to law, they were loyal men who acted not contrary thereunto: that the best friends to the crown are those who support the law; and that they still maintained the principle of suffering without any unchristian opposition. To the second, that the Dissenters had never such assurances from churchmen of their inclination of tenderness to them, as they then received; that they could not but see that this refusal was not to hinder any favours to them by this indulgence, but the dispensing power, which, if it took place, they could not but discern that a new Magna Charta for liberty of conscience would be of no validity to them, for a new declaration might dispense with it at pleasure; and that the wisest and best of them would look upon their refusal as a testimony of

their sincerity to the Protestant religion, and not of any disaffection to them. To the last objection it was answered, that the church and their religion would suffer less by the suspension or deprivation of their prelates or ministers, than it would by their illegal compliance in so great and fundamental a point; that they have better thoughts of the king's clemency and justice, when he should be informed by men of conscience, against the counsels of men of interest; for how could the king, at the very time that he proclaimed liberty of conscience to all, even those who formerly were looked upon as his enemies, do an open violence to the consciences of those, who had ever been acknowledged to be his friends: and, in short, that they ought to perform their duty, and leave the event to God; and that a certain evil must not be done, to avoid a contingent good.

After a long deliberation, they determined, in conclusion, to embody the result into the following form of petition, to be presented to the king.

TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY,
The humble Petition of William, Archbishop
of Canterbury, and of divers of the suffragan
Bishops of that province, now present with

him, in behalf of themselves and others of their absent brethren, and of the clergy of their respective dioceses,

“ Humbly sheweth,

“ That the great averseness they find in themselves to the distributing and publishing in all their churches your Majesty's late Declaration for liberty of conscience, proceedeth neither from any want of duty and obedience to your Majesty, our holy mother the church of England being, both in her principles and constant practice, unquestionably loyal, and having (to her great honour) been more than once publicly acknowledged to be so by your gracious Majesty; nor yet from any want of due tenderness to Dissenters, in relation to whom they are willing to come to such a temper as shall be thought fit, when that matter shall be considered, and settled in parliament and convocation; but among many other considerations, from this especially, because that Declaration is founded upon such a dispensing power as hath often been declared illegal in parliament, and particularly in the years 1662 and 1672, and in the beginning of your Majesty's reign; and is a matter of so great moment and consequence to the whole nation, both in church and state, that your petitioners cannot, in prudence,

honour, or conscience, so far make themselves parties to it, as the distribution of it all over the nation, and the solemn publication of it once and again, even in God's house, and in the time of his divine service, must amount to in common and reasonable construction.

“ Your Petitioners, therefore, most humbly and earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you will be graciously pleased not to insist upon their distributing and reading your Majesty's said Declaration:

“ And your Petitioners shall ever pray, &c.

“ W. CANT. THO. BATH & WELLS,

“ W. ASAPH, THO. PETRIBURGENS.

“ FRAN. ELY, JON. BRISTOL.”

“ JO. CICESTR.

Circumstances admitted of no delay in presenting this petition; for the Sunday following the Friday on which the meeting took place, was the first of the two days on which the declaration was ordered to be read in the churches in and near London. Accordingly,* on the evening of the day on which the petition was drawn up, all those who had sub-

* This account of what passed is given from a paper in the Archbishop's own hand writing.—Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 26. &c.

scribed it, with the exception of the Archbishop, who, as has been stated, had been forbidden to appear at court, went over to Whitehall, to deliver it to the king. For this purpose, the Bishop of St. Asaph applied to the Earl of Sunderland, the president of the council, desiring him to peruse the petition and acquaint his Majesty with its general purport, that he might not be taken by surprise; requesting him at the same time to beg the king to assign the time and place, when and where they might all attend him and present their petition. The earl declined perusing the petition, but immediately went and acquainted the king with the request of the bishops. The king gave orders that they might be immediately admitted into his closet, where the Bishop of St. Asaph, with the rest, all upon their knees, delivered the petition. The king at first received the petitioners and their petition in a gracious manner, and upon first opening it said, "This is my lord of Canterbury's own hand." To which the bishops replied, "Yes, Sir, it is his own hand." As soon, however, as he had read it over, he folded it up and said, "This is a great surprise to me: here are strange words. I did not expect this from you. This is a standard of rebellion."

The Bishop of St. Asaph, and some of the rest,

replied, That they had adventured their lives for his Majesty, and would lose the last drop of their blood, rather than lift up a finger against him.

The King.—I tell you, this is a standard of rebellion: I never saw such an address.

The Bishop of Bristol (falling on his knees).—Rebellion! Sir, I beseech your Majesty, do not say so hard a thing of us. For God's sake, do not believe we are or can be guilty of a rebellion. It is impossible that I or any of my family should be so. Your Majesty cannot but remember that you sent me down into Cornwall to quell Monmouth's rebellion; and I am as ready to do what I can to quell another, if there were occasion.

Bishop of Chichester.—Sir, we have quelled one rebellion and will not raise another.

Bishop of Ely.—We rebel, Sir! we are ready to die at your feet.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—Sir, I hope you will give that liberty to us, which you allow to all mankind.

Bishop of Peterborough.—Sir, you allow liberty of conscience to all mankind; the reading this Declaration is against our conscience.

The King.—I will keep this paper. It is the strangest address which I ever saw; it tends

to rebellion. Do you question my dispensing power? Some of you here have printed and preached for it, when it was for your purpose.

Bishop of Peterborough.—Sir, what we say of the dispensing power refers only to what was declared in parliament.

The King.—The dispensing power was never questioned by the men of the church of England.

Bishop of St. Asaph.—It was declared against in the first parliament called by his late Majesty, and by that which was called by your Majesty.

The King, insisting upon the tendency of the petition to rebellion, said, He would have his Declaration published.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—We are bound to fear God and honour the king. We desire to do both: we will honour you, we must fear God.

The King.—Is this what I have deserved, who have supported the church of England, and will support it? I will remember you that you have signed this paper. I will keep this paper; I will not part with it. I did not expect this from you, especially from some of you. I will be obeyed in publishing my Declaration.

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—God's will be done.

The King.—What's that?

Bishop of Bath and Wells.—God's will be done,—And so said the Bishop of Peterborough.

The King.—If I think fit to alter my mind, I will send to you. God hath given me this dispensing power, and I will maintain it. I tell you, there are seven thousand men, and of the church of England too, that have not bowed the knee to Baal.

After this singular conversation, conducted with so much heat and impetuosity of temper on the part of the king, and with such calmness and respectfulness of demeanour on the part of the bishops, they were dismissed from the royal presence.

The Archbishop had written the petition with his own hand, in order to prevent copies of it getting into circulation; but, as is supposed, from the unfaithfulness of those about the king, it was spread all over the town on the very same evening on which it was presented.*

The petition was afterwards approved and signed by several bishops who were not present at the meeting, as those of London, Norwich, Gloucester, Salisbury, Winchester, and

* See Dalrymple's Memoirs.

Exeter.* The Bishop of London, being at this time under suspension, probably thought it im-

* On two copies of the petition, written in the Archbishop's hand, are the following subscriptions.

Approbo H. LONDON, May 23, 1688.

May 23, WILLIAM NORWICH,

May 21. 88, ROBERT GLOUCESTER,

May 26, SETH SARUM,

P. WINCHESTER,

THO. EXON. May 29, 1688.

Of these bishops, Dr. William Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, was a person in whose wisdom and integrity Archbishop Sancroft placed the greatest confidence. The Archbishop sent for him as soon as the order for reading the Declaration came out, in order to consult him, with the other bishops, as to the best course of proceeding: and that his letter might not be stopped at the post office, where all suspected letters were opened every night, he sent his servant on the Norwich road to put it into the first country post, to be forwarded by the Norwich bag. But it happened, by the neglect of the post master to whom it was delivered, that it did not reach Norwich till a post after it ought to have done so. On this account, before the bishop could get to London, the petition of the seven prelates was presented. However, they had an advantage from that circumstance when they were committed to the tower, that this bishop being at liberty had the opportunity of serving them as their solicitor, and conveying to them those advices from the nobility, lawyers, and other friends, by which they governed their conduct during the whole course of the business. His assiduity in this matter was so noticed, that threats were more than once held out to him, that he would be sent to keep company with those whose cause he so earnestly solicited.—See Life of Prideaux, p. 39—41.

proper that he should appear before the king as a petitioning bishop, and therefore only signed the paper in token of his concurrence. The others, from some circumstances, were unable to reach London in time to add their names before it was presented.

The parochial clergy most readily followed the example set by the bishops, and very generally abstained from complying with the obnoxious order in council. Within the city and liberties of London, it is stated* that the Declaration was read only in four churches. In the distant dioceses, some of the bishops who were devoted to the measures of the court, consented to send the Declaration to their clergy; but, even then, in many instances, the feeling of repugnance on the part of the latter was so strong, that they refused to comply with the order even when thus recommended by their superiors.†

* See Clarendon's Diary, May 20th.

† In the diocese of Norwich in particular, it is related that, out of about 1200 parishes, there were not above three or four where the Declaration was read from the pulpit.—See Life of Prideaux, p. 41. Activity was not wanting on the part of the opposers of the Popish cause. A letter, supposed to have been drawn up by the Earl of Halifax, containing reasons addressed to the clergy for not complying with the order of the king in council, was privately printed, and dispersed with great industry. In Norwich diocese, the dispersion of the copies was intrusted to Dr. Prideaux, then one of the prebendaries: he sent the parcel containing them to Yarmouth, to be conveyed back

Archbishop Sancroft, and the bishops who had concurred with him in signing the petition, were now fairly committed in opposition to the king; and public expectation was on the utmost stretch, as to the consequences which would ensue from this extraordinary state of things. The known impetuosity of the king's temper, excited by the headstrong bigotry of the party to whose counsels he was entirely devoted, gave very little reason to suppose that he would suffer the affair to pass off quietly. Still, he seems to have remained for some time in suspense respecting the measures he should take; for he permitted a delay of nine days to elapse without doing any thing; a delay very ill according with his usual habits and disposition, especially in a matter in which the strongest feelings of his nature were so deeply interested. It is stated that, at one time, he had determined to let the business drop, and not to proceed against the bishops. At last, he came to the imprudent resolution of prosecuting them for a misdemeanour. It seems doubtful whether this determination resulted principally from his own mind, or was

from thence by the carriers. In consequence of this contrivance, it was supposed that they came from Holland, and the fact of his being concerned in the dispersion of them was not suspected. See Life of Prideaux, p. 39, 43.

instilled into him by others:* but the greater part of those who were most attached to him, foresaw from the first, as clearly as did those most opposed to him, the probable consequence of the measure; that of riveting the affections of the nation to the venerable prelates, by making them sufferers in the cause they had espoused, of inflaming in a tenfold degree the public feelings against his arbitrary proceedings, and ultimately of giving the most complete triumph to his opponents.

Late in the evening of Sunday, May 27th, one of the king's messengers served the Arch-

* Even the Lord Chancellor Jeffreys seems to have been adverse to the plan of prosecuting the bishops. Lord Clarendon states in his Diary, that Jeffreys told him, the king was once resolved to let the business fall, and not to have proceeded against them; that he (Jeffreys) was grieved to find he had changed his mind; that he knew not how it came to pass, but said there was no remedy; some men would hurry the king to his destruction." Clarendon's Diary, Thursday, June 14.—On the other hand, King James throws the blame of the measure on the lord chancellor. In his life of himself (Macpherson's State Papers, v. i. p. 151) he says, "The chancellor advised the king to summon the bishops before the council." Again, (p. 152.) "The king gave in to the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient: it was however a fatal counsel." It seems that both the king and his chancellor soon discovered the error of this step, and therefore each was desirous of disclaiming it as resulting from his own opinion, and of throwing the blame of it on the other.

bishop of Canterbury with the following summons.*

“ Robert, Earl of Sunderland, President of his Majesty’s most honourable Privy Council, &c. &c.

“ These are in his Majesty’s name to require William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to appear personally before his Majesty in council, upon the eighth day of June next at five in the afternoon, to answer to such matters of misdemeanour, as on his Majesty’s behalf shall then and there be objected against him: and you are hereby required to summon the said William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, to appear accordingly: and for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at the court at Whitehall, the 27th day of May, 1688.

“ SUNDERLAND P.

“ To Sir John Taylor,
One of his Majesty’s Messengers in Ordinary.”

Those of the petitioners who were remaining in London, viz. the Bishops of Ely, Chichester and Peterborough, had similar summonses at the same time served upon them by king’s messengers: and they were dispatched to the

† Tann. MSS. v. 28. 35.

others who had retired to their respective dioceses.

The interval between the receipt of this summons and the time of their appearance, was spent by the prelates in consulting with their friends and legal advisers, as to the course they should pursue before the Privy Council. A rumour had got abroad that they would be required to enter into recognizances for their further appearance. In consequence, they took the opinion of their friends as to this point, and were advised by no means to consent to do so, if they should be required; on the ground* of its never having been usual for members of the House of Peers to give recognizances to answer for a misdemeanour.

In the mean time, they were cheered by the expressions of approbation which reached them from every quarter, for the firmness and spirit they had displayed. Amongst others, the Prince and Princess of Orange, who could be no indifferent spectators of what was passing in England, desired Dr. Stanley, their chaplain, to convey their feelings on the subject to the Archbishop. The following is an extract from his letter on the occasion.

* Tann. MSS. v. 28. 46.

Hounslaerdyke, ^{May 30th,}_{June 10th,} 1688.

“ All men here, that love the Church and Reformation, do rejoice at it (the petition) and thank God for it, as an act very prudent and resolute, and every way becoming your places and characters; but especially our excellent prince and princess were so well pleased with it (notwithstanding what the Marquis of Abbeville, the king's envoy here, could say against it), that they have both vindicated it before him, and given me a command in their names to return your Grace their hearty thanks for it; and at the same time to express their real concern for your Grace and all your brethren, and for the good cause in which you are engaged; and I dare say, they are not only highly satisfied with your Grace's conduct, but reckon themselves particularly obliged by your Grace's so steadily maintaining the church; and your refusing to comply with the king is by no means looked on by them as tending to disparage or depress the monarchy: for they reckon the monarchy to be really undervalued and injured by all unreasonable and illegal actions, though never so much pretending to enhance it. Indeed, we have great reason to bless and thank God, for their Highnesses' steadiness in so good a cause, and their affection towards us. They do give us all the comfortable prospect that we

ourselves can desire; and I pray God in his good time to answer and fulfil all these our hopes in them.”*

On Friday, June 8th,† at five in the afternoon, his Majesty came into the Privy Council. About half an hour after, the Archbishop and six bishops, who were in attendance in the next room, were called into the council chamber, and graciously received by his Majesty.

The Lord Chancellor took a paper then lying on the table, and showing it to the Archbishop, asked him in words to this effect:

“Is this the petition that was written and signed by your Grace, and which these bishops presented to his Majesty?”

The Archbishop received the paper from the Lord Chancellor, and addressing himself to the king, spake to this purpose:

“Sir, I am called hither as a criminal, which I never was before in my life; and little thought I ever should be, especially before your Majesty; but, since it is my unhappiness to be so at this time, I hope your Majesty will not be offended, that I am cautious of answering ques-

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 28. No. 31.

† Tann. MSS. v. 28. 49. The narrative of what took place at these remarkable interviews is given from papers, part of which are wholly written, and part corrected, by Archbishop Sancroft.

tions. No man is obliged to answer questions, that may tend to the accusing of himself."

His Majesty called this chicanery, and hoped he would not deny his hand.

The Archbishop still insisted that there could be no other end of this question, but to draw such an answer from him as might afford ground for an accusation, and, therefore, begged that no answer might be required of him. The Bishop of St. Asaph said, "All divines are agreed in this, that no man in our circumstances is obliged to answer any such question." The king still pressing for an answer with some seeming impatience, the Archbishop said, "Sir, though we are not obliged to give any answer to this question, yet, if your Majesty lays your commands upon us, we shall answer it, in trust, upon your Majesty's justice and generosity, that we shall not suffer for our obedience, as we must, if our answer should be brought in evidence against us." His Majesty said, "No, I will not command you: if you will deny your own hands, I know not what to say to you." The Lord Chancellor then desired them to withdraw.

After about half a quarter of an hour, they were called in again. Then the Lord Chancellor said, "His Majesty has commanded me to require you to answer this question, Whether

these be your hands which are set to this petition?" His Majesty himself also said, "I command you to answer this question." Then the Archbishop took the petition, and having read it over, acknowledged that he wrote and signed it. The other bishops also acknowledged their respective signatures.

The following questions were put by the king at this interview, and thus answered by some of the bishops.*

Q. Is this your petition?

A. Pray, Sir, give us leave to see it; and if, upon perusal, it appears to be the same ——. Yes, Sir, this is our petition, and these are our subscriptions.

Q. Who were present at the forming of it?

A. All we, who have subscribed it.

Q. Were no other persons present?

A. It is our great infelicity, that we are here as criminals; and your Majesty is so just and

* This is given from a paper in the Archbishop's hand writing, which states it to be what passed "after the third or fourth coming in." To make it consistent, however, with the narrative, drawn up also by him, of the whole which passed at the several interviews, it must have taken place after the second time of their coming in. It is manifest that the Archbishop afterwards put down on paper what had passed, either from his own recollection, or from that of the bishops: perfect accuracy, therefore, as to the very words that passed, was not to be expected.

generous, that you will not require us to accuse either ourselves or others.

Q. Upon what occasion came you to London?

A. I received an intimation from the Archbishop, that my advice and assistance was required in the affairs of the church.

Q. What were the affairs which you consulted of?

A. The matter of the petition.

Q. What is the temper you are ready to come to with the Dissenters?

A. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. What mean you by the dispensing power being declared illegal in parliament?

A. The words are so plain that we cannot use any plainer.

Q. What want of prudence or honour is there in obeying the king?

A. What is against conscience is against prudence, and honour too, especially in persons of our character.

Q. Why is it against your conscience?

A. Because our consciences oblige us (as far as we are able) to preserve our laws and religion according to the Reformation.

Q. Is the dispensing power then against the law?

A. We refer ourselves to the petition.

Q. How could the distributing and reading the Declaration make you parties to it?

A. We refer ourselves to our petition, whether the common and reasonable construction of mankind would not make it so.

Q. Did you disperse a printed letter in the country, or otherwise dissuade any of the clergy from reading it?

A. If this be one of the articles of misdemeanour against us, we desire to answer it with the rest.

General. We acknowledge the petition: we are summoned to appear here to answer such matters of misdemeanour as should be objected; we therefore humbly desire a copy of our charge, and that time convenient may be allowed us to advise about it, and answer it. We are here in obedience to his Majesty's command to receive our charge, but humbly desire we may be excused from answering questions from whence occasion may be taken against us.

They were now commanded to withdraw. After a while they were called in a third time. Then the Lord Chancellor told them, "It is his Majesty's pleasure to have you proceeded against for this petition; but it shall be with all fairness in Westminster Hall: there will be an information against you, which you are to answer; and, in order to that, you are to enter into a recognizance." The Archbishop said,

that without a recognizance they should be ready to appear and to answer, whensoever they were called. One of the bishops said, the Lord Lovelace had been called before the council to answer to a complaint that was brought in against him, and that he was allowed to answer it in Westminster Hall, without entering into any recognizance; and that they hoped they might be allowed to answer in like nature. The Lord Chancellor said, the Lord Lovelace had affronted his Majesty, and had behaved himself very rudely before them; and, therefore, his Majesty would have him proceeded against in the common way; but, for the bishops there present, his Majesty was pleased to treat them with all favour in respect of their character, and therefore he would have them enter into recognizance. His Majesty was pleased to say, "I offer you this as a favour, and I would not have you refuse it." The Bishop of St. Asaph said, "Whatsoever favour your Majesty vouchsafes to offer to any person, you are pleased to leave it to him whether he will accept it or no; and you do not expect he should accept it to his own prejudice. We conceive, that this entering into recognizance may be prejudicial to us; and therefore we hope your Majesty will not be offended at our declining it." Then the Lord Chancellor said, "There are but three ways to proceed in mat-

ters of this kind ; it must be either by commitment, or by recognizance, or by subpœna out of King's-Bench. His Majesty was not willing to take the common way in proceeding against you ; but he would give you leave to enter into recognizance ;" and his lordship again advised them to accept it. Some of the bishops said, they were informed that no man was obliged to enter into recognizance, unless there were special matter against him, and that alleged upon oath : this they said, not considering that now the petition was made special matter, and that their confessing it was as good as an oath. But at last they insisted on this, that there was no precedent for it, that any member of the House of Peers should be bound in recognizance for misdemeanour. The Lord Chancellor said there were precedents for it ; but, being desired to name one, he named none. The bishops desired to be proceeded against in the common way ; but that was not allowed, and they were a third time commanded to withdraw.

Awhile after, they were called in a fourth time, and asked, whether they had considered of it better ? and, whether they would accept his Majesty's favour ? The Archbishop said, he had the advice of the best counsel in town ; and they had warned him against entering into recognizance, assuring him it would be to his

prejudice; and therefore he begged that it might not be required, offering his promise again to appear and to answer, whensoever he should be called. But his Majesty seemed to be displeased, and said, "You will believe others before you will believe me." So they were the fourth time commanded to withdraw.

Some time after, the Earl of Berkeley, one of the noblemen about the court, came from the Council Chamber to the bishops, and endeavoured first to persuade the Archbishop, and afterwards the other bishops, to enter into recognizance. Referring to a conversation he had with the Archbishop a short time before, in which he understood him to say that he should be willing to enter into recognizance, if required, he seemed to think it strange that his Grace should now refuse it. The fact, no doubt, is, that his Grace may have expressed himself in conversation, as willing to take this step; but that, afterwards, as has been stated, he and the other bishops were strongly advised against it by their legal friends. The earl remained with them for some time, earnestly urging the point, and saying, that if it were his own case, he should do it. At last, finding them all resolved, he returned to the Council Chamber. About half an hour after, a serjeant at arms came forth from thence with a warrant

signed with fourteen hands to carry the seven prelates to the tower; and another warrant, with nineteen hands and seals annexed, addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower, to keep them in safe custody.

The following is the warrant of their commitment, addressed to the Lieutenant of the Tower.

“ These are in his Majesty’s name, and by his command, to require you to take into your custody the persons of William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; William, Lord Bishop of St. Asaph; Francis, Lord Bishop of Ely; John, Lord Bishop of Chichester; Thomas, Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells; Thomas, Lord Bishop of Peterborough; and Jonathan, Lord Bishop of Bristol; for contriving, making, and publishing a seditious libel in writing, against his Majesty and his government; and them safely to keep in your custody, until they shall be delivered by due course of law. For which this shall be your sufficient warrant. At the Council Chamber in Whitehall, this 8th day of June, 1688.

Signed by “ JEFFREYS, Chancellor,

“ and eighteen other Privy Counsellors.”

“ *To the Lieutenant of the Tower.*”

An Order of Council was made at the same

time, directing the Attorney and Solicitor Generals to prosecute the bishops, in the following terms.

AT THE COURT AT WHITEHALL, June 8th, 1688.

Present,

The King's most excellent Majesty.

(After reciting the names of the Privy Counsellors, among whom was Mr. Petre, the Jesuit, whose introduction to the Council had given such great offence.)

“ There being this day issued a warrant by his Majesty's special command, in Council, under the hands and seals of the lords of his Majesty's most honourable Privy Council, for committing to the Tower of London, his Grace William, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, &c. for contriving, making and publishing a seditious libel against his Majesty and his government, (a copy whereof is hereunto annexed,) there to be safely kept, until they shall be delivered by due course of law: it is this day further ordered by his Majesty in Council, that Sir Thomas Powys, Knight, his Majesty's Attorney General, and Sir William Williams, Knight, his Majesty's Solicitor General, do forthwith prepare an information against the said Archbishop, and the several bishops above named, for the offence aforesaid, and prosecute

the same according to law, in his Majesty's court of the King's Bench, next term."

The intelligence that these venerable prelates were about to be committed as prisoners to the Tower, flew like wildfire through the town, and its effect upon the people is described by historians as quite electrical.

"The people," says Hume, "were already aware of the danger to which the prelates were exposed, and were raised to the highest pitch of anxiety and attention with regard to the issue of this extraordinary affair. But when they beheld these fathers of the church brought from court under the custody of a guard, when they saw them embarked in vessels on the river and conveyed towards the Tower, all their affections for liberty, all their zeal for religion blazed up at once, and they flew to behold this affecting spectacle. The whole shore was covered with crowds of prostrate spectators, who at once implored the blessing of those holy pastors, and addressed their petitions towards heaven, for protection during this extreme danger, to which their country and their religion stood exposed. Even the soldiers, seized with the contagion of the same spirit, flung themselves on their knees before the distressed prelates, and craved the benediction of those criminals whom they were appointed to guard."

Some persons ran into the water, that they might participate more nearly in those blessings which the prelates were distributing on all around them. The bishops themselves, during this triumphant suffering, augmented the general favour by the most lowly submissive deportment; and they still exhorted the people to fear God, honour the king, and maintain their loyalty; expressions more animating than the most inflammatory speeches. And no sooner had they entered the precincts of the Tower, than they hurried to chapel, in order to return thanks for those afflictions, which Heaven, in defence of its holy cause, had thought them worthy to endure."

It was remarked at the time, and deemed a mark of special providential interference, that on the evening of the bishops' commitment, when they attended divine service in the chapel of the Tower, the second lesson was the sixth chapter of the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, a passage peculiarly applicable to them as sufferers for the sake of their ministry.*

On the days following the arrival of the prelates at the Tower, persons of all ranks, from the highest to the lowest, flocked thither in

* See a hand bill, entitled, Great and Good News to the Church of England, 1700.

crowds, to proffer their services, to condole with them in their sufferings, to express their gratitude and admiration, and to exhort them to firm perseverance in the course they had so nobly begun. Their friends, at the same time, were busily employed in engaging for them the most eminent legal assistance, and consulting as to the line of defence which it would be most advisable for them to take, when their trial came on.*

At last, on Friday the 15th of June, being the first day of term, Archbishop Sancroft and the six bishops were brought from the Tower to the court of King's Bench, by writ of Habeas Corpus. As they passed by water, they were

* The imprisonment of the bishops took place at a juncture, which admitted of an interpretation unfavourable to James. It happened that the queen was delivered of a son, June 10th, two days after the committal, and thus the attendance of the Archbishop of Canterbury, customary on such occasions, was prevented. Rumours were immediately circulated that the birth was supposititious; and the suspicion was added, in support of them, that the king had contrived effectually to prevent the presence of the Archbishop, in order to preclude the detection of the fraud. The king ordered immediately that a public thanksgiving should be observed for the birth of the prince. It is customary, on such occasions, for a command to be given to the Archbishop of Canterbury to prepare a suitable form of prayer; but, in this instance, on account of the events which had taken place, the command was given to Sprat, Bishop of Rochester.—See London Gazette.

greeted with acclamations, and prayers for their safety, by the people assembled on each side of the river. In their way from the waterside to the Hall, the multitude formed a lane for them, and begged their blessing. Westminster Hall, with the Palace Yards and other places in the vicinity of the court, was thronged with vast accumulations of people. A number of the principal nobility and gentry followed the prelates into court. The crisis, to which the intemperate measures of King James were tending, seemed to be now arrived; and the fate of the whole nation to rest suspended on the issue of this great event.

Sir Robert Wright was at this time Chief Justice of the court of King's Bench, and the three puisne judges were named Holloway, Powell and Allybone. The Attorney and Solicitor Generals, Sir Thomas Powys and Sir William Williams, took the leading part in the conduct of the prosecution. The counsel for the prisoners were Sir Robert Sawyer, who had held the office of Attorney General a short time before, Mr. Serjeant Pemberton, Mr. Finch, Mr. Pollexfen, Mr. Serjeant Levinz, Sir George Treby, and Mr. Somers, afterwards the famous Lord Somers.

On the assembling of the court, the Attorney General moved that the prisoners should be

brought up by writ of habeas corpus. The writ was immediately granted, and about eleven o'clock the Lieutenant of the Tower brought the Archbishop and six Bishops into court. They were immediately accommodated with chairs.

On the Attorney General's moving that the information should be read, the counsel for the accused took two technical exceptions to the legality of the instrument under which they were committed: the one, that the warrant of commitment did not express, on the face of it, that the peers who signed it were in council assembled; the other, that the bishops, as peers of the realm, ought not to have been committed to prison for an offence which was only charged as a misdemeanour; they urged that, if their commitment was illegal, they were not legally in court, and therefore could not answer to the information. These objections were, after some discussion, overruled, and the information was read. After reciting the king's Declaration, and the Order in Council for the reading of it in the churches, it stated that William, Archbishop of Canterbury, and the other bishops, (mentioning them by name,) "consulted and conspired amongst one another, to diminish the royal authority, prerogative and power, and to infringe and elude the said order (in council); in the prosecution and execution of the said conspiracy,

did, vi et armis, &c. at Westminster, unlawfully, maliciously, seditiously and scandalously fabricate, compose and write, under the pretence of a petition, a certain false, feigned, pernicious and seditious libel;—and the same, subscribed with their own hands, did, in the presence of the said lord the king, publish, and cause to be published, in manifest contempt of our said lord the king, and the laws of this kingdom, to the evil example of all other delinquents in a similar case, and against the peace of the said king, &c.”

The counsel for the accused now stated to the court, that, as they were then for the first time acquainted with the particulars of the information, they prayed some time might be allowed to enable them to prepare their plea against it. After some inquiry into the practice of the court, this prayer was refused. The Chief Justice said, “We have taken all the care we can to be satisfied in this matter, and we will take care that my lords the bishops shall have all justice done them; nay, they shall have all the favour, by my consent, that can be shown them, without doing wrong to my master the king; but truly I cannot depart from the course of the court in this matter, if the king’s counsel press it.”

The prelates were accordingly desired to

plead to the information. On this, the Archbishop of Canterbury stood up, and, offering a paper to the court, said, "My lord, I tender here a short plea, a very short one, in behalf of myself and my brethren the other defendants; and I humbly desire the court will admit of this plea." The Chief Justice asked him whether he would stand by this plea. His Grace answered, "We will all stand by it, my lord; it is subscribed by our counsel, and we pray it may be admitted by the court."

The plea was read; it merely insisted on the ground before taken by their counsel, that they ought not to be compelled to answer instantly to the information, but should be allowed sufficient time to prepare their answer. The counsel for the prosecution immediately protested against the admission of this plea, on the ground that, as referring to a point already decided, it could only be considered as a device for obtaining a delay of the proceedings. The court agreed in this, and the plea was rejected.

The Archbishop and bishops now severally pleaded in the usual form, "Not Guilty," to the charge; and the Attorney General gave notice that the trial would come on, on that day fortnight. The court consented to admit the prisoners to bail, on their own recognizance; the Archbishop being bound to appear under a

penalty of £200, and each of the bishops of £100. They accordingly left the court, and retired to their respective homes. The joy of the people on seeing the bishops set at liberty corresponded with the deep anxiety and regret they had expressed at their imprisonment. Great crowds eagerly flocked around them, hailing them with loud acclamations and pressing to receive their benedictions. At night public rejoicings were continued, bonfires were made in the streets, and the health of the seven heroic prelates was drunk with enthusiastic joy.*

It may seem to some extraordinary, that, as has just appeared, and as will be seen further on the trial, the counsel for the accused should catch with such eagerness at every legal objection, and at every plea for delay that could be started, instead of at once openly soliciting a fair and full discussion of the whole transac-

* Clarendon's Diary, Friday, June 15. (After entering into recognizances.) "And so they went home, the people in like manner crowding for their blessings. As I was taking coach in the little Palace Yard, by the House of Lords, I found the Bishop of St. Asaph in the midst of the crowd, the people thinking it a blessing to kiss any of the bishop's hands or garments. I took him into my coach, and carried him home to my house, but was fain to turn up through Tuttle Street, and so to go round the park, to avoid the throng the other way in the streets."

tion. It may be thought too that persons in the grave and dignified situation of these prelates, ought not, on the occasion of so serious a charge brought against them by their sovereign, to have suffered advantage to be taken in their defence of any technical informality which could be discovered; that they should have sought no acquittal which did not result from a regular and full trial, and which was not attended with a clear establishment of their innocence in the eyes of the nation. It should be recollected, however, on the other side, that not only their own personal safety was at stake, but that the most important interests of the nation were suspended on this trial; that from the known temper and views of the prosecutors it was certain they were not seeking the real ends of public justice, but were endeavouring, at all events, and by all means, by procuring a verdict against the bishops, to strike a severe blow at the church. Thus, as it was not to be doubted that advantage would be industriously taken of every possible technical objection, to the prejudice of the accused, it is clear that a fair chance of success would not have been given to their cause, if every similar advantage had not been taken in their favour.

On Friday, the 29th of June, the prelates appeared in court, and the important trial came

on, amidst a crowd of anxious spectators, greater even than on the former occasion. The jury appear to have consisted of persons in respectable circumstances of life, Sir Roger Langley, Bart. being their foreman.

The Attorney General, in opening the pleadings, explained to the jury, that the bishops were not prosecuted in their episcopal character, or for a spiritual offence, but as subjects, and for a temporal crime—that of injuring and affronting his Majesty to his very face, and censuring him and his government. “I cannot,” he said, “omit to notice, that there is nothing the law is more jealous of, than all accusations and arraignment of the government. No man is allowed to accuse even the most inferior magistrate of misbehaviour in his office, unless it be in a legal course, though the fact be true. No man may say to a justice of peace to his face, that he is unjust in his office. No man may come to a judge, either by word or petition, telling him—you have given an unjust or an ill judgment, and I will not obey it; no man may say of the great men of the nation, much less of the great officers of the kingdom, that they act unreasonably or unjustly, or the like; least of all, may any man say any such thing of the king, for these matters tend to possess the people that the government is ill

administered; and the last age afforded abundant experience what these discontents tend to, and how they end." He then stated that his Majesty, having issued a gracious Declaration for liberty of conscience to his subjects, had ordered it to be read in the churches that all the people might hear what he had promised by his sacred word; that all the return he had received for his gracious kindness was hard words and a heavy accusation for that which was the effect of his mercy; that he had resented this ill usage so far as to order a public vindication of his honour by this trial.

The evidence for the prosecution consisted only of the proof of the signature by the bishops, of the petition containing the alleged libel, and of the publication of it. Some difficulty occurred on each of these points. After attempts that were not satisfactory to the court to prove their signatures from persons who were well acquainted with their hand writings, at last a clerk of the privy council was produced, who attested that the bishops had themselves owned their signatures before the privy council. On the subject of the publication of the alleged libel, the counsel for the accused contended, that, although the bishops had subscribed the paper, still it might have reached the king without their knowledge and consent. The

clerks of the privy council could only state their belief and not their knowledge that the bishops had presented it: the court held that this was not such proof as could be admitted in a court of law, and the chief justice was about to sum up for an acquittal, when it occurred to the conductors of the prosecution to send for the Earl of Sunderland, president of the privy council, the person who had introduced the bishops to the king to deliver their petition. The earl quickly appeared in the court: his statement was admitted as sufficient proof of the publication, and the case was closed on the part of the prosecution.

The defence of the bishops was conducted by their counsel with great spirit and ability. They represented that, whereas these reverend persons stood accused of having published a false, malicious, and seditious libel against the king, nothing could be further from deserving such epithets than the petition which they had presented. It was expressed in the most humble and respectful terms, and presented to the king in the most private manner. It was merely a prayer to be excused from complying with a measure with which they felt that in prudence and honour and conscience they could not comply. Every subject is allowed to petition the king: as bishops, they were particularly

charged with the care and execution of those laws which concerned the welfare of the church; and therefore, when they saw that measures were pursued by the government which they, in the exercise of their soundest judgment, deemed an infraction of those laws, they would have been wanting to the duties of their high office, if they had not freely expressed their opinion. There was nothing in the matter of the petition, in the words in which it was expressed, or in the manner in which it was presented, that could support the charge founded upon it—of their having been guilty of publishing a false, malicious, and seditious libel.

But the substance of their defence was made to rest on a topic, which, above every other, it was least convenient to the government to have prominently brought forward for public discussion; viz. the legality of the power of dispensing with penal laws, the claim to which, on the part of the king, had led to the present proceedings. The main feature of the charge brought against the prelates was the attempt to diminish the king's prerogative and privileges. Now, as the only part of his prerogative to which any reference was made in their petition was this dispensing power, it was clear that this was intended in the charge. The most effectual mode, therefore, of doing

away the charge was to prove that the crown had no valid pretension to this power, as a part of its prerogative. On this topic the counsel for the accused argued with great effect and success.—“If, they said, the laws are suspended by virtue of the king’s declaration, the consequence is indeed most dismal to the whole nation, and it well behoved these fathers of the church to represent it to the king. The principle once established, the application of it might be carried to any extent; and thus, by the sole power of the king, any laws enacted by the authority of parliament might be rendered null and void by the suspension of their operation.”

“This declaration of the king,” said Mr. Finch, one of the counsel, “is founded on a power of dispensing, which undertakes to suspend all laws ecclesiastical whatsoever; for not coming to church, or not receiving the sacrament, or any other non-conformity to the religion established; as if the king had a power to suspend at once all the laws relating to the established religion, and all the laws that were made for the security of our Reformation.

“Now, my lord, I have always taken it, with submission, that a power to abrogate laws is as much a part of the legislature, as a power to make laws. A power to lay laws asleep, and to suspend them, is equal to a power of abro-

gating them; for they are no longer in being, as laws, while they are so laid asleep or suspended; and to abrogate all at once, or do it time after time is the same thing; but both equally belong to the legislature, not to the king alone.

“ My lord, in all the education that I have had, in all the small knowledge of the laws that I could attain to, I could never yet hear or learn, that the constitution of this government in England was otherwise than thus, that the whole legislative power is in the king, lords, and commons; the king and his two houses of parliament. But then, if this declaration be founded upon a part of the legislature, which must be by all men acknowledged not to reside in the king alone, but in the king, lords, and commons, it cannot be a legal and true power or prerogative.”

“ Such a dispensing power,” said Serjeant Pemberton, “ strikes at the very foundation of all the rights, liberties, and properties of the king’s subjects. If the king may suspend the laws of the land which concern our religion, I am sure there is no other law that he may not suspend: and, if the king may suspend all the laws of the kingdom, in what a condition are all the subjects for their lives, liberties and properties!—All are at his mercy.

“ My lord, the king’s legal prerogatives are as much for the advantage of his subjects as of himself; and no man goes about to speak against them. But, under pretence of legal prerogatives, to extend the power of the king, to support a prerogative that tends to the destruction of all his subjects, their religion and liberties, in that, I think, those who attempt it do the king no service.

“ But now, we say, with your lordships’ favour, that these laws are the great bulwark of the reformed religion; they are, in truth, that which fenceth the religion and church of England; and we have no other human fence besides. They were made upon a foresight of the mischief that had, and might, come by false religions in this kingdom; and they were intended to defend the nation against them, and to keep them out; particularly to keep out the Romish religion, which is the very worst of all religions. My lord, if this declaration should take effect, what would be the end of it? All religions would be let in, be they what they will, Ranters, Quakers, and the like; nay, even the Roman Catholic religion (as they call it), which was intended, by these acts of parliament, and by the act of nonconformity and several other acts, to be kept out of this nation,

as a religion no way tolerable, nor to be endured here."

The learned counsel further proceeded to show, by bringing as evidence the records of the houses of parliament, that the king possesses no such prerogative of suspending the laws; that in the reign of Richard II. parliament gave the king a power to dispense for a time with the statute of provisors, declaring, at the same time, that this very grant of their own was a novelty, and should not be drawn into a precedent; a circumstance which clearly proves that this power did not then belong to the crown: that twice in the late reign, in 1662 and 1672, the power of suspending penal laws had been pretended to by the sovereign; but in each case it had drawn such strong remonstrances from the houses of parliament, that it was no longer insisted on. In the former of the two years, the king, in addressing parliament, used this remarkable expression—"If the Dissenters will demean themselves peaceably and modestly under the government, I could heartily wish that I had such a power of indulgence to use upon occasion;" an expression which implied his full knowledge and persuasion that he did not possess the power. In 1672, after strong remonstrances from parlia-

ment, the king cancelled the declaration he had issued for the suspension of penal laws, and in a public address gave his faithful promise, that what had been done in that particular should not be drawn either into consequence or example.

In conclusion of the defence, Mr. Somers said, " By the law of all civilized nations, if the prince does require something to be done, which the person who is to do it takes to be unlawful, it is not only lawful, but his duty, *rescribere principi*; this is all that is done here; and that, in the most humble manner that can be thought of. They did not interpose by giving their advice as peers; they never stirred till it was brought home to themselves; when they made their petition, all they begged was, that it might not be so far insisted upon by his Majesty, as to oblige them to read it; whatever they thought of it, they did not take upon them to desire the Declaration to be revoked.

" My lord, as to matters of fact alleged in the said petition, that they are perfectly true, we have shown by the journals of both houses. In every one of those years which are mentioned in the petition, this power of dispensation was considered in parliament, and upon debate declared to be contrary to law: there could be no design to diminish the pre-

rogative, because the king hath no such prerogative.

“Seditious, my lord, it could not be, nor could it possibly stir up sedition in the minds of the people, because it was presented to the king, in private and alone: false it could not be, because the matter of it is true. There could be nothing of malice, for the occasion was not sought, the thing was pressed upon them; and a libel it could not be, because the intent was innocent, and they kept within the bounds set by the act of parliament, that gives the subject leave to apply to his prince by petition when he is aggrieved.”

After this triumphant defence, a reply was attempted on the part of the prosecution. It was principally insisted on, that the king did possess the prerogative of dispensing with penal laws; that what passed in the years 1662 and 1672 amounted not to any authoritative decision or enactment on the subject, but was merely an expression of the opinion of the houses of parliament; that, under all the circumstances, the king gave way to this opinion so declared, but that this did not amount to a permanent surrender of the prerogative. It was further contended that, as to the malicious and seditious nature of the libel, the law always held an act which was illegal to be done with

an evil intent, and this was all that was meant by these epithets; that a greater reflexion on the government could scarcely be conceived than that conveyed in the assertion of the bishops, that what they were required to do was against prudence, honour, and conscience; that no greater proof could be desired of the tendency of their conduct to inflame the public mind, and raise jealousy and discontents, than the sight of the crowd which now surrounded the court of justice, and the character of the harangues which had been made in their defence; that their right to petition, as subjects and as peers, was unquestioned, but furnished no excuse for libelling the king by a petition containing matter reproachful or scandalous, and should afford them no exemption from punishment.

The chief justice summed up the evidence, and declared his opinion that the petition amounted to a libel; Justice Allybone agreed with him; but the other two judges, Holloway and Powel, pronounced it to be no libel. The latter, in particular, stated his opinion in very strong and pointed terms, that it did not partake of the character of a libel in any one of its features, in being either false, malicious, or seditious; that the king possessed no dispensing power,

and therefore, that his declaration founded on such pretended power was illegal.

The trial lasted during the whole day. In the evening, the jury were desired to retire and consider of their verdict. They remained together* in close consultation all night, with-

* The following note was written to the Archbishop of Canterbury by Mr. Ince, his Solicitor, who had been in attendance at the court where the jury were confined during the whole night. It is a very curious document, as attesting the custom which appears then to have prevailed of giving fees to the jury-men by the party in favour of whom they brought in their verdict. It is dated " six o'clock, in the morning, 30 June, 1688, at the Bell Tavern, King-Street.

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" We have watched the jury all night carefully, attending without the door on the stair head. They have by order been kept all night without fire or candle, bread, drink, tobacco, or any other refreshment whatever, save only basons of water and towels this morning about four.

" The officers and our own servants, and others hired by us to watch the officers, have and shall constantly attend, but must be supplied with fresh men to relieve our guards, if need be.

" I am informed by my servant and Mr. Grange's, that, about midnight, they were very loud one among another; and the like happened about three this morning; which makes me collect they are not yet agreed; they beg for a candle to light their pipes, but are denied.

" In case a verdict pass for us (which God grant in his own best time), the present consideration will be, how the jury shall be treated. The course is usually each man so many guineas,

out fire or candle; great difference of opinion appears to have prevailed among them from the length of time which elapsed before they came to an agreement: persons who were appointed to watch them reported that, about midnight, and also about three o'clock in the morning, they were overheard to be engaged in loud and eager

and a common dinner for them all. The quantum is at your Grace's and my Lords' direction. But it seems to my poor understanding, that the dinner might be spared, lest our watchful enemies interpret our entertainment of the jury for a public exultation and a seditious meeting; and so it may be ordered thus:—Each man ——— guineas for his trouble, and each man a guinea over for his own desire; with my Lords' order, that I or some other entreat them, in your names, not to dine together, for the reasons aforesaid. I conceive, my lords, the bishops will resolve how to direct me in this point, before they come into court. There were twenty-two of the jury appeared and no more; and they that did not serve will expect a reward as well as those who did.

“ I beg your Grace's pardon for this trouble; it is only to enable my Lords to consult what is fit to do decently on our part; and all is submitted to your Grace's and my Lords' judgment by,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace's most humble Servant,

“ Jo. INCE.

“ P S. Just now the officer brings me word they are all agreed, and are sending to my Lord Chief Justice to know where he pleases to take their verdict. There must be an hundred and fifty or two hundred guineas provided.”—See Tanner's MSS v. 28. p. 83.

debate. About six o'clock they sent a message to the chief justice to state they were all agreed. In consequence, at ten the prelates were brought into court, and the jury through their foreman brought in their verdict Not Guilty.*

“The moment the verdict was pronounced, there was a wonderful shout,” says the Earl of Clarendon, who was present, “that one would have thought the hall had cracked.” “The

* A minute and particular account exists in Tanner's MSS. v. 28. Nos. 1, 84, 86, 150. of the charges incurred during the prosecution, trial, &c. of the bishops, and of the assessment made upon them in proportion to their incomes, for defraying them.—The whole of the charges amounts to £614. 8s. 8d.; and this sum was levied by assessing them severally as follows:

	£.	s.	d.
Archbishop of Canterbury, for £4000 per ann.	260	16	8
Bishop of St. Asaph £ 700	45	12	11
———— Ely £2000	130	8	4
———— Chichester £ 770	50	0	2½
———— Bath and Wells . £ 900	58	8	6½
———— Peterborough . . £ 630	41	5	7½
———— Bristol £ 350	22	16	5½

The Bishop of Norwich made a free gift of £5 towards the expenses.

It has sometimes been stated, that the lawyers who were employed in the defence of the bishops refused to take any fees. This, however, was not the fact. Many items are set down in the account of fees to each of them, of ten guineas, five guineas, &c. Only, in one instance, it is mentioned that Mr. Finch and Sir Robert Sawyer refused a fee of twenty guineas, which was given to the rest.

loud shouts and joyful acclamations of the vast numbers assembled were, as Sir John Reresby expresses, a rebellion in noise, though not in intention." The tumultuous sounds of triumphant joy extended rapidly from the town to the country, and a well known expression of King James's is preserved, on hearing acclamations even among the soldiers in his camp at Hounslow. He was told by his general, Lord Feversham, of whom he had inquired the cause of the noise, that it was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops. 'Do you call that nothing?' he replied, 'but so much the worse for them.' Bonfires were made, and the bells of all the churches rung, not only in London, but in the greater part of the country towns, as soon as the intelligence of the acquittal reached them, although the strictest orders were given to prevent such proceedings. So strong was the general feeling, that though several were indicted at the next sessions for Middlesex for riotous behaviour,* yet the grand jury would not find bills against them, although they were sent out no less than three times. It is stated further, that the churches in London were crowded on that forenoon with multitudes eager to pour forth the over-

* See Reresby's Memoirs.

flowings of their gratitude to God for this great deliverance. "O! what a sight was that!" says Nichols,* "to behold the people crowding into the churches to return thanks to God for so great a blessing, with the greatest earnestness and ecstasy of joy, lifting up their hands to heaven; to see illuminations in every window, and bonfires at every door, and to hear the bells throughout all the city ringing out peals of joy for the wonderful deliverance."

The prelates themselves, immediately after their acquittal, went to Whitehall chapel to return thanks. It happened to be St. Peter's day, and it was remarked,† that the Epistle was singularly appropriate, being part of the 12th chapter of the Acts, recording Peter's miraculous deliverance from prison. They then returned to their respective homes, followed by the acclamations of the multitude.

Congratulations, as may be supposed, flowed in upon the Archbishop, and the bishops who were associated with him, from various quarters. Among others, the Prince of Orange, who, least of all, could be indifferent to the event of

* See Nichols's Introduction to Defence of the Church of England, p. 106.

† See a handbill "Great and good news to the Church of England." 1700.

this trial, sent to congratulate with him and the other bishops, through Compton, Bishop of London, with whom he at that time maintained a correspondence. The following is an extract from the bishops' answer to the prince, which happens to be preserved.

“ July 28th, 1688.

——— “ The honour your Royal Highness did me in laying the charge upon me to communicate to my lords the bishops how much you are concerned in their behalf, had its just effect upon them; for they are highly sensible of the great advantage both they and the church have, by the firmness of so powerful a friend; and, as I dare undertake, they shall never make an ill use of it, so I am very sure they will entirely rely upon it on all just occasions. I dare likewise take upon me to assure you, that both they that suffered and the rest who concurred with them are so well satisfied of the justice of their cause, that they will lay down their lives before they will in the least depart from it.”*

The Archbishop's intimate friend, and subsequent fellow-sufferer in deprivation, Dr. Lloyd, Bishop of Norwich, thus expressed the warmth of his feelings on the gratifying occasion.†

* See Macph. State Papers. † Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 89.

“ Norw. July 2d, 1688.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“ To give me leave, among the thousands in these parts, heartily to congratulate with you and your late companions in trouble, for the most joyful and acceptable news we had this day by the post; namely, your acquittal from crime endeavoured to be fixed upon you. I do assure your Grace it hath mightily revived our drooping spirits; and I beseech God to make us all truly sensible of, and sincerely thankful for, so great a mercy. I know your Grace hath now work enough upon your hands; and therefore it would be the greatest impertinency to interrupt you upon those great affairs. Wherefore I heartily bless God for your safety, and thereby for his great and singular mercies vouchsafed to his church; and am, as in duty bound,

“ Your Grace’s

“ Most obedient Servant,

“ WILLIAM NORWICH.”

The following letter* from Sir George Mackenzie to the Archbishop is remarkable, as attesting the interest which the Presbyterians of Scotland took in the stand made by the English bishops against the encroachments of Popery.

* Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 88.

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“ It will doubtless be strange news to hear that the bishops of England are in great veneration among the Presbyterians of Scotland; and I am glad that reason has retained so much of its old empire amongst men. But I hope it will be no news to your Grace, to hear that no man was more concerned in the safety of your consciences and persons than, may it please your Grace,

“ Your Grace’s

“ Most humble Servant,

“ GEO. MACKENZIE.”

Nothing indeed could exceed the enthusiastic reverence and admiration with which the seven prelates were at this time viewed by the whole nation. They were hailed as the great champions of the liberties of their country. Their portraits were seen in every shop, and eagerly bought up; medals were struck to commemorate the great occasion of their trial and deliverance; they were compared to the seven golden candlesticks, and were called the seven stars of the Protestant church. Every thing conspired to show how strongly the public feeling was now excited by the intemperate and illegal measures of James, and gave no doubtful

presage of the important change which was at hand.

It is scarcely possible to conceive a more imprudent or impolitic measure than this of bringing the bishops to a public trial. It contributed, there can be little doubt, more than any other single event, to produce the revolution that ensued, by inflaming to an extraordinary degree the ferment in the public mind against the arbitrary proceedings of James. The personal virtues and unoffending demeanour of the prelates, the respectful terms in which their petition was drawn up, viewed in comparison with the harshness and indignity with which they were treated, contributed no less than the popularity of the cause itself, to excite most strongly the public feeling in their favour. Even had the court party succeeded in procuring the conviction of the bishops, they would undoubtedly have lost more by the increased ferment in the public mind, than they would have gained by the triumph of success. But, as the matter really ended, covering the promoters of the prosecution with disappointment, and affording the warmest exultation to the accused, it gave confidence and boldness to the opponents of the government measures, and carried the tide of popular feeling with them in

a manner which could not afterwards be resisted.*

* King James soon became sensible of the error he had committed in the prosecution of the bishops. Lord Clarendon, in his Diary, (July 5th) states as follows:

“In the morning I was with my Lord Chancellor: he told me he found the king a little troubled that the bishops had been brought to their trial; that he seemed to be in a milder temper than he had been; and he hoped he might be persuaded to take moderate counsels. Now, says my Lord, honest men, both lords and others, (though the king had used them hardly,) should appear often at court; I am sure it would do good. He advised I would sometimes come to him, that by me he might have a correspondence with the Archbishop, which it was yet too soon for him to have openly.” It is curious to observe James’s own remarks on this affair of the bishops in his *Life of Himself*, (see Macpherson’s *State Papers*, v. i. 151.) “The bishops address against it (the declaration for liberty of conscience), thinking it illegal to dispense with all sort of laws, in cases contrary to the very designs of the law. The chancellor advised the king to summon the bishops before the council: they, perhaps, had some motive in forcing the king to imprison them, for he would not only have taken their recognizance, but even their word, for their appearance: both were refused, because an imprisonment would inflame the nation, and prevent the archbishop from being at the queen’s delivery.”—It appears from the account before given of the bishops’ appearance before the privy council, that the above statement is not quite correct; at least, they did not understand that they might be set at liberty on giving their word for their appearance. In another passage, (Macpherson, v. i. 152.) the king accounts for his own precipitate and rash conduct in the following remarkable passage.

“In the case of the bishops, there is no doubt that the king had done better in not forcing some wheels when he found the

whole machine stop. But it was his misfortune to give too much ear to the pernicious advice of those who put him upon such dangerous counsels, with intent to widen the breach between him and his subjects. But his prepossession against the yielding temper which had proved so dangerous to his brother, and fatal to the king his father, fixed him in a contrary method. He had always preached against the wavering councils of his brother, and seeing that other bishops made not the same difficulty, and since many complied, he thought the rest ought to do the same. The king therefore gave more easily in to the chancellor's opinion, who thought that a mere reprimand was not sufficient. It was, however, a fatal counsel: for, besides the common reasons against it, nothing ought to have made the king more cautious in the matter, than the present conjuncture, on account of the queen's being with child. It was that gave the alarm, and by consequence, required greater attention to avoid every cause of complaint."

The French king, as might be expected, was not backward in applauding the conduct of King James on this occasion. Skelton, the ambassador at Paris, in a letter to Lord Sunderland, June 16th, 1688, says, "His Christian Majesty was pleased to take notice to me of the imprisonment of the bishops, and very much applauds the king's resolution in that affair, and said he was ready to give his Majesty all manner of assistance.—See Macpherson's State Papers, vol. i. p. 264.

CHAPTER VII.

PERIOD IMMEDIATELY PRECEDING THE
REVOLUTION.

Articles of Instruction from the Archbishop to the Clergy—Scheme of Comprehension projected by him—Progress of things towards the Revolution—King James sends for the Archbishop and other Bishops—The Archbishop's Address of Advice to him—Consequences of this Advice—Umbrage given by these Interviews—Letter of Mr. Evelyn to the Archbishop on the Subject.

PERHAPS there are not many persons, who, had they been circumstanced as King James now was, would not have felt the necessity, after the failure in this important affair of the bishops' trial, and on perceiving the inflamed state to which the public mind was brought, of endeavouring to retrace the false steps they had made, and to regain, by measures of conciliation, their lost popularity. But the effect on the mind of James was the very reverse. Either from the impulse of his own headstrong temper, and from the prejudice which, as he acknowledges himself, he had conceived against every thing that could seem to result from a

yielding disposition, or from the violent counsels of those who were too much blinded by bigotted zeal to perceive the certain consequences of the measures they recommended, he not only showed no symptoms of altering his course of conduct, but evinced a positive determination to persevere in it to the utmost. On the 7th of July,* eight days after the trial, he dismissed from their situations the two judges, Holloway and Powel, who had committed the offence of delivering opinions, favourable to the acquittal of the bishops. Also, on the 12th* of the same month, the ecclesiastical commissioners issued an order, directing all chancellors, archdeacons, &c. to send in to them, forthwith, the names of all the parochial clergy who had omitted to read the king's Declaration. This was manifestly done for the purpose of intimidation. The 16th of August was the day appointed for receiving those returns. But the clergy wholly slighted the order; the commissioners met, and no returns were made: they contented themselves with making a fresh order for making the returns by the 15th of November. In the mean time, the Commission was dissolved, and the near approach of the Revolution put an end to the affair.

* See the London Gazettes for July, 1688.

At an early period after this prosecution, Archbishop Sancroft gave sufficient proof that he was not to be daunted by the frowns of power from doing his duty in that manner which his conscience dictated. In the middle of the ensuing July, he issued the following admonitions to the clergy of his province, through the bishops; in which he not only called them to the discharge of their pastoral duties in general, with that diligence, zeal, and discretion, which the existing condition of the church demanded, but especially pressed upon them the necessity of vigilance against the attempts of Popish emissaries, who were at this time actively employed in seducing the people from the faith and service of the Protestant church.

In the printed copies, these articles of advice are introduced by the following letter. By whom, or to whom it is written, does not appear.

“ London, July 27th, 1688.

“ SIR,

“ Yesterday the Archbishop of Canterbury delivered the articles which I send you enclosed, to those bishops who are present in this place; and ordered copies of them to be likewise sent in his name to the absent bishops. By the contents of them, you will see that the storm, in which he is, does not frighten him from

doing his duty; but rather awakens him to do it with so much the more vigour; and, indeed, the zeal that he expresses in these articles, both against the corruptions of the church of Rome on the one hand, and the unhappy differences that are among Protestants on the other, are such apostolical things, that all good men rejoice to see so great a prelate at the head of our church, who, in this critical time, has had the courage to do his duty in so signal a manner.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Yours.”

Some heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the Bishops in their Addresses to the Clergy and People of their respective Dioceses.

I. That the Clergy often read over the forms of their ordination; and seriously consider what solemn vows and professions they made therein to God and his church, together with the several oaths and subscriptions they have taken and made upon divers occasions.

II. That, in compliance with those and other obligations, they be active and zealous in all the parts and instances of their duty, and especially strict and exact in all holy conversation, that so they may become examples to the flock.

III. To this end, that they be constantly resident upon their cures in their incumbent houses, and keep sober hospitality there, according to their ability.

IV. That they diligently catechise the children and youth of their parishes, (as the rubric of the Common Prayer Book and the 59th canon enjoin,) and so prepare them to be brought in due time to confirmation, when there shall be opportunity: and that they also at the same time expound the grounds of religion and the common Christianity in the method of the Catechism, for the instruction and benefit of the whole parish, teaching them what they are to believe, and what to do, and what to pray for; and particularly often and earnestly inculcating upon them the importance and obligation of their baptismal vows.

V. That they perform the daily office publicly (with all decency, affection, and gravity,) in all market and other great towns; and even in villages and less populous places, bring people to public prayers as frequently as may be; especially on such days and at such times as the rubric and canons appoint; on holy days, and their eves, on Ember and Rogation days, on Wednesdays and Fridays in each week, especially in Advent and Lent.

VI. That they use their utmost endeavour, both in their sermons and by private applications, to prevail with such of their flock as are of competent age to receive frequently the Holy Communion; and to this end, that they administer it in the greater towns once in every month, and even in the lesser too, if communicants may be procured, or, however, as often as they may: and that they take all due care, both by preaching and otherwise, to prepare all for the worthy receiving of it.

VII. That in their sermons they teach and inform their people (four times a year at the least, as the first canon requires,) that all usurped and foreign jurisdiction is, for most just causes, taken away and abolished in this realm, and no manner of obedience or subjection due to the same, or to any that pretend to act by virtue of it; but that, the king's power being in his dominions highest under God, they upon all occasions persuade the people to loyalty and obedience to his Majesty in all things lawful, and to patient submission in the rest; promoting (as far as in them lies) the public peace, and quiet of the world.

VIII. That they maintain fair correspondence (full of the kindest respects of all sorts) with the gentry and persons of quality in their neigh-

bourhood, as being sensible what seasonable assistance and countenance this poor church hath received from them in her necessities.

IX. That they often exhort all those of our communion to continue stedfast to the end in their most holy faith, and constant to their profession; and to that end, to take heed of all seducers, and especially of Popish emissaries, who are now in great numbers gone forth amongst them, and more busy and active than ever. And that they take all occasions to convince our own, that it is not enough for them to be members of an excellent church, rightly and duly reformed, both in faith and worship, unless they do also reform and amend their own lives, and so order their conversation in all things as becomes the Gospel of Christ.

X. And forasmuch as those Romish emissaries, like the old serpent, *insidiantur calcaneo*, are wont to be most busy and troublesome to our people at the end of their lives, labouring to unsettle and perplex them in time of sickness, and at the hour of death; that therefore all who have the cure of souls, be more especially vigilant over them at that dangerous season; that they stay not till they be sent for, but inquire out the sick in their respective parishes, and visit them frequently: that they examine them par-

ticularly concerning the state of their souls, and instruct them in their duties, and settle them in their doubts, and comfort them in their sorrows and sufferings, and pray often with them and for them; and by all the methods which our church prescribes, prepare them for the due and worthy receiving of the Holy Eucharist, the pledge of their happy resurrection: thus with their utmost diligence watching over every sheep within their fold (especially in that critical moment) lest those evening wolves devour them.

XI. That they also walk in wisdom towards those that are not of our communion; and if there be in their parishes any such, that they neglect not frequently to confer with them in the spirit of meekness, seeking by all good ways and means to gain and win them over to our communion: more especially, that they have a very tender regard to our brethren the Protestant Dissenters; that upon occasion offered, they visit them at their houses, and receive them kindly at their own, and treat them fairly wherever they meet them, discoursing calmly and civilly with them; persuading them (if it may be) to a full compliance with our church, or at least that “whereto we have already attained, we may all walk by the same rule, and mind the same thing.” And in order hereunto, that they take all opportunities of assu-

ring and convincing them, that the Bishops of this church are really and sincerely irreconcilable enemies to the errors, superstitions, idolatries, and tyrannies of the church of Rome; and that the very unkind jealousies which some have had of us to the contrary, were altogether groundless. And, in the last place, that they warmly and most affectionately exhort them to join with us in daily fervent prayer to the God of Peace, for the universal blessed union of all reformed churches both at home and abroad against our common enemies; that all they, who do confess the holy name of our dear Lord, and do agree in the truth of his holy word, may also meet in one holy communion, and live in perfect unity and godly love.

The Protestant Dissenters showed at this time a peculiarly mild disposition towards the Established Church, partly from the pressing danger of Popery, which naturally tended to unite all Protestants in mutual good feeling, and in views of mutual support; and partly from the admiration and gratitude which they felt for the firm and dignified stand which the members of the church had made, so much to their honour, both by their unanswerable writings and by their public measures, against the designs of the Roman Catholics. In conse-

quence of this temper now displayed by the Protestant Dissenters, Archbishop Sancroft was induced to set on foot a scheme of comprehension,* in which his purpose seems to have been, to make such alterations in the Liturgy and in the discipline of the church, in points not deemed of essential and primary importance, as might prove the means, through corresponding concessions on the part of the more moderate dissenters, of admitting them within its pale. It were to be wished, as matter of curious information, that we possessed more knowledge than has reached us, of the details of the plan which he proposed, and of the extent to which he proceeded in it. Our principal information respecting it is derived from the speech of Dr. Wake, delivered by him some years after, when Bishop of Lincoln, at the trial of Dr. Sacheverel. This prelate, in consequence of the misrepresentations which were industriously made of this scheme, which had been termed a popular engine to pull down the church, was induced to enter into a short detail of what had really been intended. He stated,† that the person who first concerted this supposed design against our church was the late most reverend

* See Echard, p. 1107.

† See Sacheverel's Trial.

Dr. Sancroft, then Archbishop of Canterbury. “The time was towards the end of the late unhappy reign, when we were in the height of our labours in defending the Church of England against the assaults of Popery, and thought of nothing else. At this time, that wise prelate, foreseeing a revolution such as that which soon after occurred, began to consider how utterly unprepared they had been at the Restoration of King Charles II. to settle many things to the advantage of the church; and what a happy opportunity had been lost, for want of such previous care, for its more perfect establishment. It was visible to all the nation, that the more moderate Dissenters were generally so well satisfied with that stand which our divines had made against Popery, and the many unanswerable treatises they had published in confutation of it, as to express an unusual readiness to come in to us. And it was therefore thought worth while, when they were deliberating about those other matters, to consider at the same time what might be done to gain them without doing any prejudice to ourselves.”

“The scheme,” he proceeds, “was laid out, and the several parts of it were committed, not only with the approbation, but by the direction, of that great prelate, to such of our divines as were thought most worthy to be intrusted

with it. His Grace took one part himself; another was committed to a pious and reverend person, (Dr. Patrick,) then a dean, and afterwards a bishop of our church. The reviewing of the daily service of our Liturgy and the Communion-book was referred to a select number of excellent persons, two of whom are at this time upon our bench, (the Archbishop of York,* and the Bishop of Ely,†) and, I am sure, will bear witness to the truth of my relation. The design was, in short, this: to improve, and, if possible, amend our discipline; to review and enlarge our Liturgy by correcting some things, by adding others, and, if it should be thought advisable by authority, when this matter should be legally considered, first in Convocation, then in Parliament, by omitting some few ceremonies which are allowed to be indifferent in their nature, also indifferent in their usage, so as not to make them of necessity binding on those who had conscientious scruples respecting them, till they should be able to overcome either their weaknesses or their prejudices respecting them, and be willing to comply.”

“How far this good design was not only known to, but approved by, the other fathers of our church, that famous petition for which

* Dr. J. Sharp,

† Dr. J. Moore.

seven of them were committed to the Tower, and which contributed so much to our deliverance, may suffice to show. ‘The willingness they there declared of coming to such a temper as should be thought fit, with the Dissenters, when that matter should be considered and settled in Parliament and Convocation,’ manifestly referred to what was then known to several, if not all, of the subscribers, to have been at that very time under deliberation. And, that nothing more was intended than has been stated, is no less evident from what was publicly declared in a treatise, purposely written to recommend the design when it was brought before the two Houses of Parliament in the beginning of the late reign, and licensed by the authority of a noble peer, who was at that time Secretary of State. In the very beginning of which is this remarkable passage. ‘No alteration, that I know of, is intended but in things declared to be alterable by the church itself. And, if things alterable be altered upon the grounds of prudence and charity, and things defective be supplied, and things abused be restored to their proper use, and things of a more ordinary composition revised and improved, whilst the doctrine, government, and worship of the church remain entire in all the substantial parts of them, we have all reason to

believe that this will be so far from injuring the church, that, on the contrary, it will receive a great benefit from it."

Such is the only account which we possess of the scheme of comprehension projected by Archbishop Sancroft. That it originated on his part from the purest and best of motives, and that his sole object was to give stability to the Church, and to extend the influence of sound religion, can admit of no question. Circumstances prevented his bringing it to a conclusion; but a similar attempt was made soon after the Revolution, which proved altogether abortive. Judging from the result of that later attempt, and from the similar results which have generally followed from plans of this description, we may conjecture, with some probability, that, although all would have been effected by Archbishop Sancroft, which could be effected by a spirit of conciliation, mixed with firmness and discretion, the scheme which he projected, had he been enabled to persevere in it, would not have been attended with any successful result.

In the mean time, by the continued and less disguised attempts of King James against the liberties of his subjects, and the safety of the Protestant Church, matters were fast drawing to a crisis. The Protestants became every day

more and more convinced that nothing less than open resistance could preserve to them the enjoyment of their religious profession; and all eyes were turned towards Holland, as the quarter whence deliverance was to spring. The Prince of Orange, in consequence of the numerous and strong solicitations he had received from persons of various ranks and interests in England, had come to the resolution of undertaking an expedition for the express purpose of saving that kingdom from the dangers which threatened to overwhelm it. In consequence, he had employed the earlier part of the year in making such preparations as had more the appearance of providing for the security of his own states, than of meditating any thing hostile against another. But, as the autumn drew on, he was obliged to take other measures in collecting troops, artillery and arms, which unequivocally marked the design of undertaking a foreign expedition. While this storm was gathering, James alone remained unconscious of his danger. Blinded by his passions, and given over to infatuated counsels, he vainly hoped for success to measures from which every other eye saw that his ruin must ensue; and when preparations were making, the object of which was to all the world too plain to be mistaken, he alone

remained in ignorance of their real destination.* At last, about the middle of September, he first became convinced of the purpose of the intended expedition from Holland, by a letter, as it is said, from Lewis XIV.† On receiving it, he turned pale and stood motionless, and the letter dropped from his hand; striving to conceal his perturbation from his courtiers, he more plainly betrayed it; and they, in affecting not to observe his emotion, showed no less plainly that they did. The immediate effect of the discovery, and of the alarm which overwhelmed him, was to make him recur with hurried precipitation to milder measures of government, for the purpose of regaining his lost popularity.

* It is thought that his ignorance of what was in agitation was partly owing to the treachery of those who served him: for his minister, the Earl of Sunderland, having the command of the foreign correspondences, is suspected of having concealed from him whatever he pleased.—Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 141.

† See Dalrymple's Memoirs, p. 141. It is remarkable that, during the whole of this summer and autumn, James had kept up a constant correspondence with the Prince of Orange, in which he evidently shows some distrust and jealousy of him, but still preserves tolerably well the outward appearances of affection. He concludes his last letter, dated September 17th, as he had done most of the others, "You shall find me as kind to you as you can expect:" and directs, "For my Son, the Prince of Orange."—Dalrymple's Mem. Append. p. 294.

Accordingly, on September 21st,* he published a Declaration, expressing that it was his resolution to preserve inviolable the Church of England; that he was willing the Roman Catholics should remain excluded from the House of Commons; and assuring his loving subjects, that he should be ready to do every thing else for their safety and advantage, that becomes a king who will always take care of his people. Five days afterwards, he declared his intention of restoring to the commission of the peace those gentlemen who had been displaced. But matters had advanced too far for these concessions to have any effect. Although ostensibly proceeding from his own free will, they were manifestly extorted from him by fear. All confidence in him, on the part of the people, was forfeited; and his devotion to the Catholic cause was known to be such, that he would certainly recur to his violent measures for establishing it, as soon as the fear of consequences was again removed.

But, what was the most striking effect of the alarm into which he was now thrown, he condescended to ask advice of those very persons whom he had so lately treated with hasty and inconsiderate violence, the Archbishop of Can-

* See Kennett, iii. 489.

terbury and the rest of the bishops. It is sufficiently manifest that, knowing the high ground of popularity on which they stood, principally on account of their firm resistance to his arbitrary measures, he was desirous of renewing their attachment to his person, and of employing their mediation for the purpose of regaining the affections of the people.

On the 24th of September, the following letter was dispatched to the Archbishop of Canterbury, from the Earl of Sunderland.*

“ MY LORD,

“ The king thinking it requisite to speak with your Grace, and several others of the bishops, who are within a convenient distance of this place, his Majesty commands me to acquaint you that he would have you attend him on Friday next, at ten o’clock in the morning.

“ I am,

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s most faithful

“ and most humble servant,

“ SUNDERLAND.”

Letters to the same purpose, and of about the

* Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 128, &c.

same date, were sent to the Bishops of London, Winchester, Ely, Chichester, Bath and Wells, Peterborough, Bristol and Rochester; and all of these, except the Bishops of London and Bristol, immediately came to town. The Archbishop of Canterbury was confined at Lambeth by illness, on the day appointed for waiting on the king. The other bishops attended the summons.

At this first interview, nothing passed* between the king and the bishops, except general expressions of his favour to them on the one hand, and of their duty to him on the other. However, the king lost no time in informing the people that a conciliatory interview had taken place between himself and the bishops; for he published a notice in the Gazette of September 30th, that “several of my lords the bishops having attended his Majesty on Friday last, he was pleased, among other gracious expressions, to let them know, that he would signify his pleasure for taking off the suspension of the Lord Bishop of London, which is done accordingly.”*

After this interview, the bishops who attended appear to have been by no means satis-

* See Bishop Sprat's two letters the Earl of Dorset.

† Kennett, iii. 489.

fied with the result of it; conceiving that they had not taken as much advantage as they might of so favourable an opportunity for addressing to the king that bold but necessary advice, in which his own best interests, as well as those of the church and of the country, were so deeply involved. In consequence, they entreated the Archbishop to procure for them a second and more particular audience, in which they might all deliver their plain and sincere sense of things, in that manner which the dangerous condition of the church and state then required from persons of their character. Accordingly, on the following Sunday (September 30th), the Archbishop waited on the king, and obtained his consent that the bishops should be admitted to full liberty of speech with him on the morning of the following Tuesday (October 2.)

The whole of Monday, the day preceding that appointed for the interview, was spent by the bishops in close conference with the Archbishop, respecting the advice which it might be proper for them to offer on the following day. Bishop Sprat remarks, that the heads of advice were agreed upon and drawn up at Lambeth Palace, on the very same day* as that on which the De-

* The 1st of October O. S., corresponding with the 10th of October N. S., the date of the Prince of Orange's Declaration. —See History of the Desertion, p. 47.

claration of the Prince of Orange is dated, and that the matter of the two is very nearly the same, with the exception of one or two particulars which were too high for subjects to meddle with.

It happened that the king was accidentally prevented from admitting the bishops to the intended interview on Tuesday, and their attendance was, in consequence, postponed till the following day. Bishop Sprat* laments the intervention of this delay, inasmuch as it deprived themselves and the church of the credit which they would otherwise have had with the world, of having procured the restoration of the charter of the City of London. He states that the bishops, from the beginning of their consultations, had intended to make this one of their principal petitions; and he conjectures that the king, having received private information of their intention, thought it best to forestall their petition by making the restoration of the charter the act of his own free grace. It seems, however, hardly necessary to suppose that King James had received private information of their intentions; for he must have felt that the seizure of this charter was one of the most offensive acts which he had committed;

* See Sprat's Letters to the Earl of Dorset.

and in the disposition in which he now was, of treading back his imprudent and impolitic steps, it was natural that the recalling of this measure should be one of the first means that occurred to him of endeavouring to recover the good will of the people. However this may be, it is certain that, on the evening of the Tuesday on which the bishops were to have waited on him, he publicly declared in the council, to several citizens of London, his purpose of immediately restoring their charter. Thus, when the bishops waited on him the following day, they had nothing to do but to return thanks for the act which they had intended should form one of the subjects of their petition.

On the morning of Wednesday, October 3d, all the bishops who remained in town, with the Archbishop of Canterbury at their head, waited on the king; when the Archbishop, in the name of the rest, addressed him in the following terms.* He delivered their free and honest advice on this occasion, with a degree of becoming meekness, gravity and courage, which were truly admirable.† Even Bishop Burnet allows,‡ that the bishops delivered their advice

* See Tann. MSS.—Ibid.

† See Bishop Sprat's two letters.

‡ Burnet's Own Times, v. i. 784.

“ with great gravity, and with a courage that recommended them to the whole nation.”

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR SACRED MAJESTY,

“ When I had lately the honour to wait upon you, you were pleased briefly to acquaint me with what had passed two days before, between your Majesty and these my reverend brethren: by which, and by the account they themselves gave me, I perceived, that, in truth, there passed nothing, but in very general terms, and expressions of your Majesty’s gracious and favourable inclinations to the Church of England, and of our reciprocal duty and loyalty to your Majesty: both which were sufficiently understood and declared before; and (as one of my brethren then told you) would have been in the same state, if the bishops had not stirred one foot out of their dioceses. Sir, I found it grieved my lords the bishops to have come so far, and to have done so little: and I am assured, they came then prepared to have given your Majesty some more particular instances of their duty, and zeal for your service; had they not apprehended from some words which fell from your Majesty, that you were not then at leisure to receive them. It was for this reason, that I then besought your Majesty to command us once more

to attend you all together; which your Majesty was pleased graciously to allow and encourage. We are therefore here now before you, with all humility, to beg your permission, that we may suggest to your Majesty such advices as we think proper at this season and conducing to your service, and so leave them to your princely consideration." Which the king being graciously pleased to permit, the Archbishop proceeded as followeth: "Our humble advice is:—1st. "That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to put the management of your government in the several counties into the hands of such of the nobility and gentry there as are legally qualified for it.

2d. "That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to annul your commission for ecclesiastical affairs, and that no such court as that commission sets up may be erected for the future.

3d. "That your Majesty will be graciously pleased, that no dispensation may be granted or continued, by virtue whereof any person, not duly qualified by law, hath been or may be put into any place, office, or preferment in church or state, or in the Universities, or continued in the same; especially such as have cure of souls annexed to them: and in particular,

that you will be graciously pleased to restore the President and Fellows of St. Mary Magdalen College, in Oxford.

4th. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to set aside all licenses, or faculties already granted, by which any persons of the Romish communion may pretend to be enabled to teach public schools, and that no such be granted for the future.

5th. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to desist from the exercise of such a dispensing power as hath of late been used; and to permit that point to be freely and calmly debated and argued, and finally settled in parliament.

6th. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to inhibit the four foreign bishops* who style themselves Vicars Apostolical, from further invading the Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, which is by law vested in the bishops of this church.

7th. “ That your Majesty will be graciously please to fill the vacant bishoprics, and other ecclesiastical promotions within your gift, both in England and Ireland, with men of learning

* These four Popish bishops had been recently consecrated in the king's chapel, and sent out to exercise episcopal functions in their respective dioceses; they had dispersed their pastoral letters under the express permission of the king.

and piety: and, in particular, (which I must own to be my peculiar boldness, for 'tis done without the privy of my brethren,) that you will be graciously pleased forthwith to fill the archiepiscopal chair of York* (which has so long stood empty, and upon which a whole province depends,) with some very worthy person: for which (pardon me, Sir, if I am bold to say) you have here now before you a very fair choice.

8th. “ That your Majesty will be graciously pleased to supersede all further prosecution of Quo Warrantos against corporations, and to restore to them their ancient charters, privileges and franchises; as we hear God hath put it into your Majesty's heart to do for the city of London; which we intended to have made otherwise one of our principal requests.

9th. “ That, if it so please your Majesty, writs may be issued with convenient speed, for the calling of a free and regular parliament; in which the Church of England may be secured according to the Acts of Uniformity; provision

* The archbishopric of York had been kept vacant since April, 1686, when Archbishop Dolben died. It was generally supposed that the king had the intention of appointing a papist, Father Petre, to it. He afterwards appointed Dr. Lamplugh, Bishop of Exeter, who fled to him from Exeter, on the landing of the Prince of Orange.

may be made for a due liberty of conscience, and for securing the liberties and properties of all your subjects; and a mutual confidence and good understanding may be established between your Majesty and all your people.

10th, “ Above all, that your Majesty will be graciously pleased to permit your bishops to offer you such motives and arguments as (we trust) may, by God’s grace, be effectual to persuade your Majesty to return to the communion of the Church of England: into whose most Catholic Faith you were baptized, and in which you were educated, and to which it is our daily earnest prayer to God, that you may be reunited.

“ These, Sir, are the humble advices which, out of conscience of the duty we owe to God, to your Majesty, and to our country, we think fit at this time to offer to your Majesty, as suitable to the present state of your affairs, and most conducing to your service, and so to leave them to your princely consideration. And we heartily beseech Almighty God, ‘ in whose hand the hearts of all kings are, so to dispose and govern your’s, that in all your thoughts, words and works, you may ever seek his honour and glory, and study to preserve the people committed to your charge in wealth, peace and

godliness,' to your own both temporal and eternal happiness. Amen.

“ W. CANT.

“ We also do heartily concur.

“ H. LONDON.

FRAN. ELY.

“ P. WINCHESTER.

JO. CICESTR.

“ W. ASAPH.

THO. ROFFEN.

THO. BATH

et WELLS.

T. PETRIBURG.”

Advice so bold and undisguised from the Archbishop and Bishops, against whom the king's irritation had lately been so great, would not have been endured by him a few weeks before; but, humbled as he now was by the immediate foresight and apprehension of the bitter consequences of his ill-advised and imprudent measures, the whole nation in a ferment, his authority at home greatly loosened by the general discontent, and a foreign invasion immediately threatening his shores, he gave it a favourable acceptance. He even thanked the bishops for the advice they had given, and promised that he would comply with it. He soon gave proof that he was sincere in this promise; but, probably for the sake of preserving appearances, and of inducing the nation to suppose that the change of his several

measures arose from the spontaneous decisions of his own mind, he chose to make the concessions one by one. Accordingly, two days after this interview with the bishops, October 5th, he dissolved the Ecclesiastical Commission. On the 10th, he signified his intention of redressing the irregularities and abuses arising from the late regulation of the corporations. Two days after, October 12th, he signified his pleasure to the Bishop of Winchester, the visitor of Magdalen College, Oxford, that he should immediately settle that society regularly and statuteably, by reinstating those members who had been violently ejected. And, October 17th, he published a proclamation for restoring corporations to their ancient charters, liberties, rights and franchises.

All these concessions came too late to produce any effectual results. Had they been made at an earlier period, they might have been hailed by the nation as produced by a real change of disposition in the king, and as affording an earnest of his sincere intention to follow, for the future, such counsels as accorded with the feelings and the wishes of his people. But, under existing circumstances, it was too manifest that they were extorted from him by his fears, and by the dangers that pressed upon him. Indeed, all confidence in him was so

completely lost, and the public prejudices against him were so inflamed, that every event was now construed to his disadvantage, and blame imputed to him by general opinion, even when it was not due.*

* The most striking instance of the want of confidence of the public in King James's promises at this period, was afforded in the reports which were spread, and generally believed at the time, that he revoked his declared intention of restoring the members of Magdalen College, at Oxford, as soon as his hopes of carrying his measures were revived by the intelligence of the dispersion of the Prince of Orange's fleet. But it has clearly appeared, from documents since published, that there was not the smallest foundation for these rumours, and that the delay which took place was entirely occasioned by the visitor, the Bishop of Winchester. It was on the 12th of October that this bishop received the king's directions to settle the college regularly and statuteably. He left London on the 14th, but instead of going straight to Oxford, went to Farnham in his way. The Archbishop of Canterbury and other bishops, feeling uneasy at this delay, urged him to proceed to Oxford immediately; in consequence, he arrived there on the 20th, with intention of executing his commission the next day, by restoring the members of the college, who were all in readiness, waiting for him. But on this very night he received, by an express which followed him from Farnham, an official letter commanding his attendance at the Privy Council, at ten o'clock on the morning of the 22d. This was nothing more than a general notice sent to all the Privy Counsellors to be present at the enrolment of the depositions respecting the birth of the Prince of Wales; but, the purport not being mentioned in the notice, the bishop conceived it to be of such importance as to make it imperative on him to return immediately to London; the Fellows wished him

At one of the preceding interviews, the Archbishop of Canterbury received the king's commands to compose some public prayers, suited to the state of danger in which the kingdom was then placed, to be used in all churches. He performed this office, which, in the existing state of things, was by no means an easy one, with great judgment and discretion, and even to the satisfaction of the king himself. The

to restore them before he went, and on his refusal used rude expressions and behaviour: this made him angry, and he ordered his coachman to drive off. The king, as soon as he saw him, asked him whether he had restored the Fellows; and, on hearing that he had not, commanded him, with expressions of some passion, to return immediately to Oxford and do so; and, on the 25th the President and Fellows were restored. The letter, which accidentally recalled the Bishop of Winchester from Oxford, was written October 19th: the dispersion of the Prince of Orange's fleet did not take place till the 21st, on the evening of which day he put back to Helvoetsluys. Thus it could be only an extreme readiness to believe every thing adverse of James, that could cause the rumour of his retracting his concession in consequence of that event.—See Macpherson's History of Great Britain, v. i. p. 518, and Original State Papers, v. i. p. 271—5.

Hume expresses himself with proper caution on this subject: he says, "*it was commonly believed* that the king recalled his concessions when the intelligence arrived of a disaster to the Dutch fleet." Bishop Burnet (v. i. p. 784.) boldly affirms that "the order for restoring the President and Fellows of Magdalen College was countermanded when the news arrived of the Prince of Orange being put back by a storm."

petitions were framed generally, without any particular allusion to the causes, or to the nature of the dangers which now threatened, for the preservation of internal peace and the healing of divisions, for the maintenance of the laws and ancient government of the country, and of the holy religion therein professed, for the safety of his Majesty's person, the wisdom of his counsels, and the filling his princely heart with a fatherly care of all his people. It was remarked* at the time, that these prayers considerably contributed to confirm the people in the principles of firm resistance to the attempts of James against their religion and laws; that the very act of praying for the preservation of their holy religion carried their minds to the consideration of the quarter from which it was endangered, and made them reflect that they were not bound to concur and assist, either by their prayers or by their personal exertions, in any undertakings which interfered with their feelings of higher and more important duty.

These interviews between the king and the

* See History of the Desertion, p. 9. The prayers are found in Archbishop Sancroft's hand-writing in Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 139. Even Bishop Burnet says (v. i. 784.), that "the prayers were so well drawn up that even those who wished for the prince might have joined in them."

bishops gave umbrage to some of the public. It was reported at the time, and was very probably true, that they were brought about by the suggestion and contrivance of the king's Popish advisers, who saw the advantage they should derive from exciting the belief that the bishops, who were extolled as the great champions of the party opposed to the court proceedings, were now reconciled to the king, and had deserted the cause of the people. If such were the motives of those who advised the king, these persons must have been greatly disappointed by the firm conduct of the prelates, who, throughout the whole, as will be further seen, steadily refused to comply with the urgent solicitations of the king to lend their names in any shape to the support of his cause; and adhered to the plan of giving him that honest and wholesome advice which the emergency demanded.

The following letter from the celebrated Mr. Evelyn to the Archbishop, while it attests the deep interest which that distinguished person took in the support of the Protestant cause, shows, at the same time, what suspicions were awake respecting the contrivances of the Popish counsellors in procuring a reconciliation between the king and his bishops.*

* See Tann. MSS. v. 28. No. 137.

“ MY LORD,

“ The honour and reputation which your Grace’s piety, prudence and signal courage have justly merited, and obtained, not only from the sons of the Church of England, but even universally from those Protestants among us who are dissenters from her, God Almighty’s providence and blessing upon your Grace’s vigilance and extraordinary endeavours will not suffer to be diminished in this conjuncture. The conversations I now and then have with some in place, who have opportunity of knowing what is doing in the most secret recesses of our church’s adversaries, oblige me to acquaint your Lordship, that the calling of your Grace and the rest of the lord bishops to court, and what has there been lately required of you, is only to create, if possible, some jealousies and suspicions among the well-meaning people, of such compliances as, it is certain, they have no cause to apprehend. The whole plan of this (and of all that is to follow of seeming favour thence) is drawn by the Jesuits, who are at this time more busy than ever, to make divisions amongst us, all their other mechanisms and arts having failed them. They have contrived that your lordships the bishops should be summoned to give his Majesty advice separately, without any of the rest of the peers, &c. which, though

most maliciously suggested, is generally spread about the town. I do not at all question, but, as your Grace cannot but hear of this, so you will speedily prevent the operation of the venom, and that you will think it very necessary so to do. That your Grace is also enjoined to compose a form of prayer, wherein a great prince is expressly to be named the invader; of the truth of this, I presume to say nothing: but, whatever it be, forasmuch as in all the declarations which hitherto have been published in pretended favour of the Church of England, there is not once any mention of the Reformed, or Protestant religion, but only of the Church of England as by law established (which Church, the Papists tell us, is the Church of Rome, that is, say they, the Catholic Church of England, which only is established by law, the Church of England in the reformed sense, so established, but by an usurped authority): the ambiguity of that would be explained, utterly defeat this false construction, and take off all exceptions whatsoever, if, in all extraordinary offices upon these occasions, (and especially at this juncture,) the words Reformed and Protestant were added to that of the Church of England; and whoever threatens to invade, or come with intentions for the prejudice of that

Church, in God's name, (be they Dutch or Irish,) let us heartily pray against them.

“ My Lord, this is, I confess, a bold, but honest paper; and, though I am well assured of your Grace's being perfectly acquainted with all this before, and therefore may blame my impertinence as an *Αλλοτριο-επισκοπος*; yet I am confident you will not reprove the zeal of one who most humbly implores your Grace's pardon with your blessing.

“ Your Grace's most humble

“ and most dutiful Servant,

“ J. E.

“ October 10th, —88.

“ My servant, who delivers this to your Grace, is a faithful and trusty young man: I should, however, be glad to receive one line, if your Grace does pardon this presumption, an indispensable occasion detaining me from waiting on your Grace at this instant.”

CHAPTER VIII.

PERIOD PRECEDING THE REVOLUTION.

Interviews of the Archbishop and Bishops with King James respecting their Invitation of the Prince of Orange, and signing a Paper declaring their abhorrence of his Designs—Their steady Refusal—Consequences of this Refusal—The Archbishop not chargeable with inconsistency herein.

WHEN the designs of the Prince of Orange became still more certain, the king again desired an interview with the Archbishop of Canterbury. A note* reached him at an early hour on the morning of Tuesday, October 16th, acquainting him that, if his health permitted, his Majesty desired to speak to him that very morning.

The Archbishop waited on the king at the time appointed. His Majesty began the con-

* See Tanner's MSS. v. 28. No. 146. 154, 155, &c. The remarkable narrative which follows is given from Archbishop Sancroft's papers. The account of what took place in the king's closet on the 6th of November, is drawn up by Bishop Sprat, who was probably desired by the Archbishop to commit to writing all that he recollected of the conversation. The rest is manifestly committed to paper by the Archbishop himself.

versation by referring to the restoration of Magdalen College, saying that the Bishop of Winchester mistook his meaning, and that he never meant to delay the visitation. He then adverted to the restoring of the corporations, which, he said, should have been done the day before, had not the lawyers differed about the terms of the proclamation. The Archbishop told him that he had lately received a letter without a name, complaining of the bad state of the church in Ireland; particularly of four bishoprics having been long vacant there, the filling of which had formed the seventh head of advice offered to his Majesty by the bishops. Some other grievances were mentioned; but, as the Archbishop had not the letter with him, the king desired that he would send him a more particular account.

At last the king came to that which appeared to be his chief purpose in sending for the Archbishop. He told him that he had now received certain intelligence, that the Prince of Orange was coming to invade England, and to make a conquest of it; and that it would be very much for his service, and a thing very well becoming the bishops, if they would meet together and draw up a paper, expressing their abhorrence of this attempt of the Prince. The Archbishop told him that, soon after the bishops had waited

on him the last time, they supposed his Majesty had no further commands for them, and accordingly made haste to return to their respective dioceses, so that there were now none of them in town. The king replied that he understood some of them were either still in town, or were so near that they could be sent for: and, on his still insisting on his former proposal, the Archbishop, having first requested leave to speak his sentiments freely, said that he conceived there could be no occasion for such a declaration from the bishops, for he could not believe that the Prince had such a design; for which opinion, at the desire of the king, he gave several reasons.

Nothing more passed at this interview; and it does not appear that the king had further communication with any of the prelates, or urged any more the affair of a public declaration from them, till Wednesday, October 31st. On that day, he ordered a letter to be sent to the Bishop of London, requiring him to attend him immediately. The bishop, being absent from home when the message arrived, was unable to obey the summons till the next morning. The king immediately told him, that when he had sent for him he possessed only the Declaration of the States of Holland, but that now the Declaration of the Prince of Orange had fallen into his hands. He then read to the

bishop a short paragraph stating that several of the lords spiritual and temporal had invited him over to England. Upon which the bishop said, "I am confident the rest of the bishops would as readily answer in the negative as myself:" and the king was pleased to say, that he believed them all innocent. He next told the bishop that he thought it requisite they should make some public declaration of their innocence in this matter, and also of their abhorrence of the Prince's design. The bishop told him that this was a matter to be considered. The king replied that every one must answer for himself, but he would send for the Archbishop of Canterbury, who should call them together.

Accordingly, on the same day, the Archbishop received a summons to wait upon the king the next day, (November 2d,) and bring with him such others of the bishops as were in London.

On his arrival at Whitehall, he found already in attendance the Bishops of London, Durham, Chester and St. David's. When they were admitted into the closet, the king told them that he had seized a person who had brought into the city a great number of the Prince of Orange's Declarations, and had begun to disperse them; that he had a copy at hand, in which, says he to the bishops, is a passage that concerns you.

Having desired the secretary to read the passage, he said that he did not believe a word of it, that he was fully satisfied of the innocence of the bishops, and the falsehood of the accusation; notwithstanding, he thought it fit to acquaint them with it, and this was the occasion of his sending for them at this time.

The Archbishop, having thanked his Majesty for his good opinion so frankly and graciously expressed, spoke to the following purpose: That he owed to his Majesty a natural allegiance, having been born in his kingdom; that he had oftentimes confirmed this by taking voluntarily the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and that he could have at once but one king; that, as his Majesty well knew, he never worshipped the rising sun, nor made court to any but his king; and to him he did, as often as he was pleased to receive it. Further, as to this particular charge, and his personal concern in it, he averred it to be utterly false; that so far had he been from inviting in any manner the said Prince to make this attempt, that he had never made any application to him; and, further, that he did not know, and could not believe, that any of his brethren the bishops had given the prince any such invitation. The Bishop of London said, he had given the king his answer the day before: the Bishop of Dur-

ham said, I am sure I am none of them : nor I, nor I, said the other two.

The preceding address of the Archbishop to the king is very remarkable, when connected with his subsequent conduct in refusing to take the oaths to King William. It shows that he had at this time the same strong feeling of the impossibility of transferring his allegiance from King James to another which he afterwards entertained ; and, as he spontaneously touches upon this topic, which was quite distinct from the subject on which the king was speaking to him, it may be surmised that he already foresaw, in some of those who had invited the Prince of Orange, a design of transferring to him the possession of the throne.

After these declarations from the Archbishop and bishops, the king repeated more than once his former declaration, that he verily believed the whole charge to be a groundless aspersion upon the bishops ; nevertheless, he required that some such denial should be published, saying it would be for his service : still he would not allow time to send for the absent bishops, but commanded the Archbishop to call together as many of them as he could, and to consider with them, what was fit to be done in order to vindicate themselves from this accusation. He then went on to say, that, when they

met, they should resolve upon a paper, or apology for themselves in writing, which, when prepared, the Archbishop should bring to him, (or rather send it, he said to the Archbishop, for I would not endanger your health; for which his royal compassion the Archbishop gave him thanks.) And then, he proceeded to say, the paper, being approved by me, may, by you, the metropolitan, be sent to the absent bishops for their concurrence.

During all this time, not a word had passed about their expressing their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design. At last, the king said, "You may do well, and it will be very much for my service, if in your paper you express your dislike of the Prince's design;" to which, though he said it twice, neither the Archbishop nor any of the bishops who were present gave the slightest answer.

The next day, Saturday, November 3d, the Bishops of London and Rochester waited on the Archbishop by appointment, to confer on this matter: and, understanding that the bishop of Peterborough was not far from town, they agreed that he should be sent for, and that they should all meet again on the Monday following, for further consultation. During this time, the king was very impatient for the result. On the Sunday, he sent Lord Preston to the Archbi-

shop to require him to expedite, as much as possible, the return to the proposal. The Archbishop explained to him that he had taken the proper steps for complying with his Majesty's commands with as little delay as possible.

On Monday, November 5th, the bishops all met at Lambeth Palace, according to appointment; and, after due deliberation and debate, unanimously agreed upon the line they should take, and the answers to which they should hold, when admitted to an audience with the king. The Archbishop immediately sent word that they were prepared to wait upon his Majesty; and the next morning, between ten and eleven o'clock, was fixed for the purpose.

Accordingly, on Tuesday, November 6th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, with the Bishops of London, Rochester and Peterborough, came together to Whitehall. On arriving there, they found the bishop of St. David's (Watson*),

* This bishop was known as a person devoted to the measures of the court. A remarkable anecdote is related respecting him at the time of the Revolution. Among the partial disturbances which took place, the mob at Cambridge, hearing that he was at Balsham in that county on a visit, went to find him; and, mounting him on a paltry horse, without bridle or saddle, brought him in triumph to Cambridge, and were not satisfied till they had made the magistrates put him in the Castle as a prisoner.—See *London Mercury*, Dec. 23d, 1688.

waiting to go in with them to the king; but, not wishing to make him a party to what passed between the king and themselves, they requested that their audience might be private, and procured his exclusion.

On their admission into the closet, the Archbishop began to this effect:—

“ Sir, we think we have done all that can be expected from us in this business. Since your Majesty has declared you are well satisfied in our innocence, we regard not the censures of others.”

Here the Bishops of Peterborough and Rochester, having been absent from the former meeting, made their personal protestations, (as the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had done before,) that they had, neither by word or writing, directly or indirectly, invited the Prince of Orange to invade his Majesty's dominions, nor did they know of any that had.

The King.—My Lords, I am abundantly satisfied with you all, as to that matter. I had not the least suspicion of you. But where is the paper I desired you to draw up and bring me?

The Bishops.—Sir, we have brought no paper. Nor (with submission) do we think it necessary or proper for us to do it. Since your Majesty

is pleased to say that you think us guiltless, we despise what all the world besides shall say. Let others distrust us as they will, we regard it not: we rely on the testimony of our consciences, and your Majesty's favourable opinion.

The King.—But I expected a paper from you. I take it, you promised me one. I look upon it to be absolutely necessary for my service: and seeing you are mentioned in the Prince of Orange's Declaration, you should satisfy others as well as me.

Here the king, taking notice that the Bishops of Peterborough and Rochester had been absent the time before, took out the Declaration, and read to them what concerned the birth of the Prince of Wales, and the Prince of Orange's resolution to come to England for the preservation of its religion and laws, being invited by a great many of the spiritual and temporal lords.

The Bishops.—Sir, we cannot think ourselves bound to declare publicly, under our hands, against a paper come forth in such a private manner, which, as yet, nobody owns; and which, as they say, seems rather to be written like a lawyer's brief, than a princely declaration. We assure your Majesty, scarce one in five hundred believes it to be the Prince's true declaration.

“No!” said the king, with some vehemence,

“ then that five hundred would cut my throat,”
(or bring in the Prince of Orange upon my
throat.)

The Bishops.—God forbid!

The King.—“ What, must not I be believed?
must my credit be called in question?” As he
turned the Declaration over in his hands, one
of the bishops asked, whether the Prince of
Orange’s arms were to it? He said, there were
all the signs of a true Declaration.

The Bishops.—Sir, your Majesty’s credit is
not here concerned. It is sufficient for that,
that your officers seized on it.

The Archbishop.—Sir, it is a good reason to
us to suspect it is not his, that this very clause
is in it, of his being invited by a great many
spiritual and temporal lords. For either this is
true or false. If true, one would think it were
very unwisely done of the Prince of Orange, to
discover it so soon. If it be false, one would
not imagine a great prince would publish a ma-
nifest untruth, and make it the grounds of his
enterprise.

The King.—What! he that can do as he does,
think you he will stick at a lie? You all know
how usual it is for men in such cases, to affirm
any kind of falsehoods, for the advantage of
their cause.

The Bishops.—However, Sir, this is a business

of state, which properly belongs not to us. To declare peace and war is not our duty; but in your Majesty's power only. God has intrusted the sword with you.

The Archbishop.—Truly, Sir, we have lately some of us here, and others my brethren who are absent, so severely smarted for meddling with matters of state and government, that it may well make us exceeding cautious how we do so any more. For, though we presented your Majesty with a petition of the most innocent nature, and in the most humble manner imaginable, yet we were so violently prosecuted, as it would have ended in our ruin if God's goodness had not preserved us: and I assure your Majesty, the whole accusation turned upon this one point.—Your Attorney and Solicitor both affirmed, that the honestest paper relating to matters of civil government might be a seditious libel, when presented by persons who had nothing to do with such matters, as they said we had not, but in time of parliament. And indeed, Sir, they pursued us so fiercely upon this occasion, that, for my part, I gave myself for lost.

The King.—I thank you for that, my Lord of Canterbury: I could not have thought you would believe yourselves lost by falling into my hands.

The Bishops.—Sir, my Lord of Canterbury's meaning is, he looked on himself as lost in the course of law ; lost in *Westminster Hall*.

The Archbishop.—But, Sir, the injustice of the prosecution against us did not cease there. After we had been acquitted by our jury, and our acquitment was recorded ; and so we were right in the eye of the law : yet after that, we were afresh arraigned, and condemned by divers of your judges, as seditious libellers, in their circuits all over England. And, Sir, I beg leave to say, that if the law were open, (that is, as he afterwards explained himself, if the same persons were not to be judges and parties,) had the meanest subject your Majesty has, been used as we have been, he would have found abundant reparation in your courts of justice for so great a scandal. I will particularly acquaint your Majesty with what one of your judges, Baron H. said, coming from the bench, where he had declared our petition to be a factious libel. A gentleman of quality asking him, how he could have the conscience to say so, when the bishops had been legally discharged of it ? he answered, you need not trouble yourself with what I said on the bench : I have instructions for what I said, and I had lost my place, if I had not said it. Sir, added the Archbishop, I hope this is not true. But it is true that he

said it. There was another of your judges, Sir, Baron R. who attacked us in another manner, and endeavoured to expose us as ridiculous; alleging, that we did not write true English, and it was fit we should be convicted by Dr. Busby for false grammar.

The Bishops.—Sir, that was not all. The same judge, as we are certainly informed, presumed to revile the whole church of England in the most scandalous language, affirming, that this church, which your Majesty has so often honoured by promising to cherish and protect it, is a cruel and bloody church.

The king, now addressing the Archbishop, said, my Lord, this is querelle d'Allemand: all this is a matter quite out of the way. I thought this had been all forgotten. For my part, I am no lawyer: I am obliged to think what my judges do is according to law. But, if you will still complain on that account, I think I have reason to complain too. I am sure your counsel did not use me civilly. I know what is commonly said, that it is customary for the counsel to speak what they can for their clients. But they went further, and interposed in matters they had nothing to do with. As for what you say, that it is hazardous to meddle in matters of state, that is true, when I do not call you to it. But I may ask counsel or assistance of any,

as I now do of you; and then there can be no danger.

Here, the king still earnestly urging that they should present him with something under their hands, which he had before sometimes called a dislike, sometimes an abhorrence, sometimes a detestation of the Prince of Orange's proceedings; and insisting much on a promise of this nature made by the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London, when the other two were absent; they with all duty and submission persisted, that they never promised a paper, but only engaged that they would deliberate with those of their brethren then near town, in whom they could confide, about framing a paper; and that, if they should agree upon one, they would bring or send it to his Majesty. On this, the king turned to Lord Preston, for whom he had sent some time before, and asked him, whether the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had not promised a paper, although they now denied it. Lord Preston answered, in substance, that the two prelates had promised that, if they should consent or agree upon a paper, they would present it to his Majesty before it was published. To which these prelates added, "We then said, we were very few of the

bishops' bench in town, with whom we could advise, and begged that in so weighty a business, his Majesty would be pleased to summon up the rest."

The king answered, that he had told the Archbishop of Canterbury before, that it would be too far, and too late, to send to Carlisle, or Exeter, or other remote parts; but, if they who were present would sign the paper, he would afterwards send to those who were further off for their concurrence.

The bishops hereupon most humbly intreated, that the small number there present might not be separated from the rest, as if they were more suspected than others: they further said, that the lords temporal were equally concerned in the accusation, and prayed that they might be called together, and joined with them in consulting about this protestation which was now required of them alone.

The king hastily answered, "Aye, I believe, some of the temporal Lords have been already with you, and caused you to change your minds."

The bishops all solemnly declared the contrary; and the king put this off by saying that he knew some, as Lord Preston, had been with them.

The bishops then stated, that they understood

several of the temporal lords had had interviews with his Majesty upon this very occasion; and they humbly asked, whether he had demanded any such thing of them, as he was now pleased to do from the bishops.

His Majesty said, No, he had not. But it would be of more concernment to his service that they (the bishops) should do it, because they had greater interest with the people.

The bishops replied, that, in matters of this nature, belonging to civil government and the affairs of war and peace, it was most probable the nobility would have far greater influence on the nation than themselves; as they had greater interests at stake, and the management of such matters belonged more properly to them.

The King.—But this is the method I have proposed. I am your king. I am judge what is best for me. I will go my own way; I desire your assistance in it.

The Bishops.—Sir, we have already made our personal vindication here in your Majesty's presence: your Majesty has condescended to say, you believe and are satisfied with it. Now, Sir, it is in your power to publish what we have here said, to all the world, in your royal Declaration, which we hear is coming forth.

The King.—No; if I should publish it, the people would not believe me.

The Bishops.—Sir, the word of a king is sacred; it ought to be believed on its own authority. It would be presumption in us to pretend to strengthen it: and the people cannot but believe your Majesty in this matter.

The King.—They that could believe me guilty of a false son, what will they not believe of me?

The Bishops.—But, Sir, all the court sees us going in and out: and all the town will know the effect of what has been done and said: and we shall own it everywhere.

The King.—And all the town will know what I have desired of you: so that it will be a great prejudice to my affairs, if you deny me.

The bishops still earnestly besought his Majesty, that they might not be divided from the temporal peers; that he would at least appoint a select number of them to consult together with them. The king still refusing to hear of that, and urging their immediate compliance, they told him, that the chief place in which they could serve his Majesty effectually was a parliament: and, when he should please to call one to compose all the distractions of his kingdoms, he should there find, that, as they had always shown their personal affections to his Majesty, so the true interest of the church of England is inseparable from the true interest of the crown.

The King.—My lords, that is a business of more time. What I ask now, I think of present concernment to my affairs. But this is the last time; I will urge you no further. If you will not assist me as I desire, I must stand upon my own legs, and trust to myself and my own arms.

The Bishops, in conclusion, stated that, as bishops, they did assist his Majesty with their prayers; as peers, they entreated that they might serve him in conjunction with the rest of the peers, either by his Majesty's speedily calling a parliament, or, if that should be thought too distant, by assembling together with them as many of the temporal peers, as were in London or its vicinity.

This suggestion was not attended to, and so the prelates were dismissed.

Thus ended this celebrated conference between King James and the bishops: great crowds of people were present at and about the court, waiting to hear the result; both the friends and the enemies of the Church of England being impatient to learn how they would conduct themselves in that difficult juncture. Bishop Sprat says,* that the jesuited party at court were so enraged against the bishops for

* See Sprat's Letters to the Earl of Dorset.

their perseverance in refusing to give the king a paper such as he required, that, as was stated on credible authority, one of the principal of them in a heat advised that they should all be imprisoned, and the truth extorted from them by force.

There cannot be the slightest doubt that Archbishop Sancroft was perfectly sincere in the protestations he made to the king at the preceding interviews, of his not having been concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange to England.* There is every reason to suppose

* The following letter from Dr. Stanley, who was formerly chaplain to the Princess of Orange, to Dr. Hickes, written in 1715, strongly corroborates the fact, if it can be thought to stand in need of corroboration, that Archbishop Sancroft never concurred in any invitation to the Prince of Orange.—See Gutch's *Miscellan. Curiosa*, Pref. p. 64.

“ May 26th.

“ SIR,

“ I do not remember that I ever heard that the late good Archbishop Sancroft was thought to have invited the Prince of Orange over into England. If any one did charge him with it, I believe it was without grounds. All that I can say as to the matter is, that, Ann. 1687, when I came into England from Holland, I confess I did desire the Archbishop to write to the then Princess of Orange, on whom I had the honour to attend, to encourage her still to give countenance to the church of England: but he was pleased not to write to her. And, afterwards, when we were come over into England, and a report being spread abroad, that some of the lords, spi-

that, whatever may have been his opinion of the absolute necessity of the Prince's intervention, in order to detach James from the evil counsellors by whom he was surrounded, and to place on a firm footing the civil and religious liberties of the country, yet he had not in any manner, direct or indirect, concurred in such invitation; nor even is there any ground for supposing that he suspected any of his brethren on the bench to have had more concern in such a measure than himself. Of the other prelates who were present at the interviews, the Bishops of Rochester and Peterborough appear also to have been perfectly sincere. With the Bishop of London, however, the case was different. It has appeared from documents which have since been published,*

ritual as well as temporal, had invited the Prince of Orange into England, in my discoursing with the Archbishop, I remember he said to me—I am now glad I did not write to the princess as you desired; for, if I had written to her, they would have said that I had sent to invite them over.—This is true, and this is all that I can say of that affair.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Your faithful Friend, &c.

“ WILLIAM STANLEY.”

* See Dalrymple's *Memoirs*, Append. vol. ii. pp. 224, 228. and Macpherson's *State Papers*, v. i. p. 276. It is there clearly proved, from original documents, that the Bishop of London

that, at this very time, he had joined with several others in sending to the Prince of Orange a direct invitation, in which a positive pledge was given, that they would render him, as soon as he should land, all the assistance in their power. This bishop, therefore, can by no means be absolved from the charge of duplicity, in having so strongly and positively denied the fact to the king.

It is sufficiently clear that the great object of King James, in the preceding interviews with the bishops, was to draw them into a public expression of their opinion, adverse to the Prince of Orange's designs; and thereby to avail himself of their influence and credit with the nation, at that critical period, in opposing the projected attempt. It has appeared, that in what he required of them, he mixed two

was one of those who associated to invite the Prince of Orange. In particular, there is one paper, signed, in cypher, by him and six others, dated June 30th, 1688, in which they press the prince without delay to undertake the expedition, and add, "we who subscribe this will not fail to attend your Highness on your landing, and to do all that lies in our power to prepare others." While we cannot but admire the high and honourable feeling which distinguished many parts of Bishop Compton's conduct, antecedent to, and during, the Revolution, we cannot help regretting, that his merits should be tarnished by an act of insincerity towards the king, as unprofitable as it was inexcusable.

matters which were quite distinct from each other; the denial of their having had any concern in inviting the Prince, and their abhorrence in general of the invasion projected by him.*

* There is reason to believe that, had the king found the bishops disposed to yield to his solicitations, he would have pressed them, not only to express their own dislike of the Prince of Orange's expedition, but also to recommend to the clergy to be earnest in exhorting their flocks against it.—The following is a form of declaration, given in one of the pamphlets of that period, which, it is stated, the king wished to procure some of the bishops to sign, immediately after the landing of the Prince. It is found in a scarce pamphlet, entitled “*Reflexions on a Form of Prayer lately set forth by the Jacobites of the Church of England, and of an Abhorrence tendered by the late king to some of our dissenting Bishops upon his present Majesty's landing, London, 1690.*” —See p. 26.

“Whereas the Prince of Orange hath, with an armed force of foreigners and strangers, in a hostile manner, actually invaded this kingdom; and, to amuse and deceive the subjects, has set forth his declaration; and therein hath asserted that he hath been earnestly solicited and invited by a great many of the lords spiritual of this kingdom: We, the Archbishop and Bishops, whose names are hereunto subscribed, as an indispensable duty incumbent upon us, do for ourselves severally and respectively declare, that we never did, either by word or writing, give him the least, or any encouragement or solicitation thereto: and do, on behalf of ourselves, according to the avowed and untainted principles of the Church of England, with the consent of the King's most excellent Majesty, hereby publish and declare to all our fellow subjects, our abhorrence and detestation of the said invasion, or of any rebellion or other disturbance of the go-

As far as the Archbishop of Canterbury was concerned, there seems reason to suppose that he would not have been unwilling to give the king a written declaration of that which he had with full sincerity declared to him in private, that he had not himself invited the prince, and did not know or believe that any of his brethren had done so. There is, in fact, found among his papers, the following sketch of a declaration to this effect, regularly dated, with his initials subjoined; evidently drawn up with the design of being presented to the king.*

“Whereas there hath been of late a general
vernment, under what pretence and upon what ground soever :
and do hereby direct and admonish all our clergy, within our
several and respective dioceses (and doubt not but our several
brethren the bishops who are not present at the signing hereof,
but they respectively will speedily do the like for themselves,
and within their several and respective dioceses,) to excite
and stir up their several auditors, and all persons within their
respective cures, to stand firm and stedfast in their duty and
obedience to the king's majesty, in the opposition thereof, as
being a duty incumbent upon them by the laws of God and
man, and from which they may expect the blessing of God in
such their undertaking. To which and for which they shall
not want our fervent prayers to God on their behalfs.

Given under our hands this day of

Ann. Dom. 1688.

* See Macpherson's Original State Papers, v. i. 279, from Tanner's Collection, v. 28.

apprehension, that his highness the Prince of Orange hath an intention to invade this kingdom, in hostile manner; and, as it is said, makes this one reason of his attempt, that he hath been thereunto invited by several English lords, both spiritual and temporal; I, William, Archbishop of Canterbury, do, for my own discharge, profess and declare, that I never gave him any such invitation, by word, writing, or otherwise. Nor do I know, nor can believe, that any of my reverend brethren the bishops have, in any such way, invited him. And all this I aver upon my word; and, in attestation thereof, have subscribed my name here, at Lambeth, the 3d day of November, 1688.

“W. C.”

This paper, it is observable, bears date three days before the final interview of the bishops with the king. It certainly never was presented. The Archbishop was probably diverted, on further reflection, from doing what he at first intended, by considering that a simple declaration of this kind would probably not satisfy the king; and also, what was urged by him in the interview, that the temporal lords being as much concerned as the spiritual, there was as much reason for his calling upon them to make the declaration, as the spiritual; and the fact

of his endeavouring to detach the latter from the former, and make them stand alone in a declaration of this kind to be laid before the public, naturally suggested the suspicion that some peculiar advantage was intended in the use of their names, and made them, in consequence, the more cautious in affording them.

Of the prelates who bore a part in this conference, two, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Kenn, Bishop of Bath and Wells, afterwards refused to take the oaths to King William; and their conduct has, in consequence, been taxed with inconsistency. It has been asked why, if they were in reality averse to the Prince of Orange's designs, they refused to signify that aversion by a public declaration, at the earnest desire of their lawful sovereign; and why, if they approved the expedition, they afterwards refused to concur in those measures which resulted from it. The fact seems to be, that, although these prelates had not been in any degree concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange to undertake the expedition, and although they were not prepared to approve every result to which the expedition might lead, still they concurred with the rest of their brethren, and with reflecting persons throughout all ranks of the nation, in the firm opinion that his presence was absolutely necessary to

rescue the king from the evil counsellors that surrounded him, to turn him from his design of subverting the church and violating the constitution, and to force him to the adoption of measures more consistent with the feelings and wishes of his people. Their very attachment to James as their sovereign, no less than their regard for the welfare of the nation in Church and State, led them, under the existing circumstances, not to disapprove an expedition which appeared to be the only effectual measure for producing those results which they so ardently desired. Thus, whatever may be thought of their conduct during the whole of these important transactions, it does not appear that, on this point, the charge of inconsistency can be justly alleged against them. It was only when the measure, to which they were favourable at first, ended in consequences which they had not contemplated, and were not prepared to approve, that they withdrew their concurrence, and shrunk from all further participation in it.

But the firmness of the Archbishop and the other bishops in steadily resisting, on this occasion, the pressing solicitations of James, had, it is probable, a very important effect on the issue of the great struggle in which the nation was now engaged. These prelates were then

deservedly standing on the highest ground of popularity, as the great supporters of the Protestant cause, and the champions of the public liberties. If they, therefore, had publicly expressed their disapprobation of the Prince's expedition, their opinion would have had a powerful effect on the public feeling at this critical juncture; many of those who were favourers of the expedition would have begun to doubt their own judgment, when opposed to such high authority, and would either have shrunk entirely from the support of the cause, or would have supported it with less zeal and activity. Thus the least consequence would have been, that the parties would have been more equally balanced, and that the Revolution would not have been effected with that full concurrence of the nation, which eventually took place.

In addition to this, it has been surmised that, had the bishops, as a body, publicly expressed their abhorrence of the Prince's design, they would have been so decidedly committed in opposition to the principles on which the Revolution was effected, that they could not have borne a part in the subsequent establishment of the government, and that even the downfall of episcopacy might have been the consequence.

Bishop Sprat* is strongly of opinion that the contrary conduct of the Scotch bishops† at this juncture was the main and principal cause of the abolition of episcopacy in that kingdom. The Scotch bishops were drawn into a declaration expressing their abhorrence of the Prince of Orange's design: they were, in consequence, prevented, from a regard to their own consistency, from acting in parliament immediately after the Revolution; and their absence from Parliament left the field entirely open to the Presbyterian party, who made good use of the opportunity, and procured their establishment by law. "Thus," says Bishop Sprat,‡ "as the

* See Bishop Sprat's Letters to the Earl of Dorset.

† A letter to the king from the Scotch bishops appears in the London Gazette, dated Edinburgh, November 3d, 1688. After expressing gratitude to him for favours, and congratulating on the birth of the prince, it proceeds—"We are amazed to hear of the danger of an invasion from Holland, which excites our prayers for an universal repentance to all orders of men, that God may yet spare his people, preserve your royal person, and prevent the effusion of Christian blood, and give success to your Majesty's arms; that all who invade your Majesty's just and undoubted rights, and disturb or interrupt the peace of your realms, may be disappointed and clothed with shame, so that on your royal head the crown may still flourish."

It is signed by the Archbishops of St. Andrews and Glasgow, and ten bishops.

‡ See Letters to the Earl of Dorset.

refusal of the English bishops to stand by the doctrines of passive obedience saved episcopacy in England, so the adherence of the Scotch bishops to those doctrines destroyed it in Scotland.”*

* Bishop Burnet agrees in the fact, that the circumstance of the bishops and those who adhered to them not appearing in the Convention in Scotland, left the field open to the Presbyterian party, and thus paved the way for the abolition of episcopacy. He relates, however, that the episcopal party in Scotland sent the Dean of Glasgow, in their names, to wait on the Prince of Orange, as soon as he came to St. James's ; and that the Prince expressed favourable intentions towards them : but afterwards, on their expecting another revolution, they resolved to adhere firmly to King James's interest, and declared in a body against the new settlement. This it was, according to him, which made it impossible for the king to preserve the episcopal government there, “ all who expressed their zeal for him being equally zealous against that order.”—Burnet's Own Times, ii. 23.

CHAPTER IX.

PERIOD OF THE REVOLUTION.

Address of the Peers to King James—His Answer—His ill advised and vacillating Measures—His Flight—Meeting of the Peers at Guildhall—their Declaration to the Prince of Orange—Remarks upon it—Archbishop Sancroft vindicated from the Charge of Inconsistency—His Election to the Chancellorship of Cambridge—Refusal of it—Letters on the Subject.

AT the time when the last of these interviews between the king and the bishops took place, the Prince of Orange, with his army, was actually on British ground. The greatest alarm was now excited in the public mind that the kingdom was about to be delivered up to all the horrors and disorders of a civil war; and those even who had felt, in the strongest manner, the necessity of resorting to foreign interference, were struck with anxiety for the result, when they saw army arrayed against army, and the standard of an invader erected in the heart of the kingdom.

In this fearful emergency, the views of some of the leading persons in London, and, amongst them, of the Archbishop of Canterbury, were

early directed towards the means of preventing the mischief and confusion which appeared to threaten; and the plan which they agreed upon was that of presenting an address to the king, earnestly requesting him to call, without delay, a free Parliament, as the measure which would be most effectual for putting an end to the existing grievances, and for preventing the effusion of blood. The plan seems to have originated in conversation between some of the bishops and the Earl of Clarendon, on November 8th;* which must have been immediately subsequent to the receipt of the intelligence, that the Prince of Orange had landed. They agreed to mention it the next day to the Archbishop of Canterbury. The Archbishop highly approved it. Some meetings accordingly took place at Lambeth Palace, at which the Earl of Clarendon was present, together with several of the bishops, for the purpose of discussing the terms of the address. At last, at a final meeting held there on the 15th, those terms were determined; and the bishops agreed to meet some temporal peers at the Bishop of Rochester's that evening, to show them the paper and to procure their signatures.

On the morning of November 17th, the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Archbishop of York

* See the Diary of Henry Earl of Clarendon.

elect, the Bishops of Ely and Rochester, waited on the king and presented the address to him as follows.*

“MAY IT PLEASE YOUR MAJESTY,

“We, your Majesty’s most loyal subjects, in a deep sense of the miseries of a war now breaking forth in the bowels of this your kingdom, and of the danger to which your Majesty’s sacred person is thereby like to be exposed, as also of the distractions of your people by reason of their present grievances, do think ourselves bound in conscience of the duty we owe to God and to our holy religion, to your Majesty, and to our country, most humbly to offer to your Majesty, that, in our opinion, the only visible way to preserve your Majesty, and this your kingdom, would be the calling a parliament regular and free in all its circumstances.

“We, therefore, most earnestly beseech your Majesty, that you would be graciously pleased, with all speed, to call such a parliament, wherein we shall be most ready to promote such counsels and resolutions of peace and settlement in Church and State, as may conduce to your

* See History of the Desertion of the Throne by James II. p. 62, in State Tracts, vol. i. written by Edward Bohun, Esq.

Majesty's honour and safety, and to the quieting the minds of your people.

"We do likewise humbly beseech your Majesty, in the mean time, to use such means for the preventing the effusion of Christian blood, as to your Majesty shall seem most meet.

"W. CANT. NOM. EBOR.

"GRAFTON. W. ASAPH.

"ORMOND. F. ELY.

"DORSET. THO. ROFFEN.

"CLARE. THO. PETRIBURG.

"CLARENDON. T. OXON.

"BURLINGTON. PAGET.

"ANGLESEA. CHANDOIS.

"ROCHESTER. OSSULSTON."

"NEWPORT.

The king gave the following answer* to the address of the peers, from which it is justly inferred, that he was by no means pleased with it.

"MY LORDS,

"What you ask of me, I most passionately desire, and I promise you, upon the faith of a king, that I will have a parliament,

* See History of the Desertion.—Ibid.

and such an one as you ask for, as soon as ever the Prince of Orange has quitted this realm. For how is it possible a parliament should be free in all its circumstances, as you petition for, whilst an enemy is in the kingdom, and can make a return of near an hundred voices."

This answer of the king to the peers was equivalent to a direct refusal, and was liable to the worst interpretation. Such was, at this time, the want of confidence on the part of the public in his honour and good faith, that they believed his disposition to perform his promises would last no longer than the necessity which had urged him to make them. To say that he would call a Parliament as soon as the Prince of Orange had left the kingdom with his army, was interpreted to mean, and possibly was intended to mean by those who advised him, that he wished, at all events, to get rid of the foreign force which threatened to oblige him to compliance, and then designed to revert to his old measures. Even at this time, when the Prince was occupying with his army a part of the kingdom, it is probable that, had the king determined, at once, and without hesitation, on the advice of his peers, to issue writs for summoning a Parliament, and openly promised to refer to it all matters of difference between

himself and his people, the final issue of these events to his fortunes might have been very different. The time which he lost before he came to this measure was not to be recovered. But he seems at this time to have been little aware how entirely he had forfeited the good opinion and the affections of his people, and to have fully expected that he should meet with sufficient support to enable him to repel the invader of his kingdom.

On the evening of the day on which he gave this answer to the peers, he set out from London to take the command of his army. He got as far as Salisbury, found that the Prince was hourly becoming stronger by the accession of persons of all ranks, that his own friends and supporters were dropping off from him one by one, and that he could place no dependance on the army which still nominally adhered to him. Consequently, after staying at Salisbury a few days, he left it with precipitation, and returned to London on the 26th of November.

On the day after his arrival, he summoned all the peers, spiritual and temporal, who were in or near London, to attend him in the afternoon.* About forty of them came; it is not distinctly

* See Kennett's History, iii. 499. and Clarendon's Diary, November 27th, 1688.

stated that the Archbishop of Canterbury was amongst the number, but there seems to be little doubt that he was. The king, addressing the meeting, told them that he had called them together to consider of the matter of the petition which some of them had delivered to him the day he set out on his journey; that, being then on the point of departing, he could not give an immediate answer to it; that he had observed in his journey the general desire of the counties through which he passed, for a parliament; that, in consequence of this, he now had summoned the peers for the purpose of advising with them as to what was best to be done in the existing emergency. Some of the peers gave their opinions very freely respecting the measures which had brought affairs to the present crisis; and the sum of the advice given was, that he should summon a parliament immediately; that he should send commissioners to negotiate a treaty with the Prince of Orange, by which the meeting of a Parliament might be facilitated; that a pardon should be issued for all who had joined the Prince, and that all Roman Catholics should be dismissed from the court. It is stated that none of the spiritual peers bore any part in this discussion. In conclusion, after a serious and warm debate, the king spoke to this effect:—"My lords, I have

heard you all; you have spoken with great freedom, and I do not take it ill of any of you. I may tell you, I will call a parliament; but, for the other matters you have proposed, they are of great importance, and you will not wonder that I take one night to consider of them." As to the part of their advice which related to the Roman Catholics, he said he was unwilling to grant it, and would leave this matter to be debated in Parliament.

In consequence, on the next day, November 28th, he gave orders to the Chancellor to issue writs for summoning a Parliament on the 15th of January following, and he signified this determination to the public, by a proclamation, on the 30th.* It is very striking and very instructive to observe how this misguided monarch, by his course of ill-timed and vacillating measures, contrived that his concessions should always lose their effect with the public, by being made with a bad grace, and carrying too evident an appearance of being extorted from him. Only eleven days before, he had positively refused to call a parliament while the Prince of Orange, with his army, was on British ground. Now he consented to do so, but at a time when this consent was wholly una-

* History of the Desertion, p. 82.

vailing to the support of his cause, his feebleness having been betrayed, his authority wholly sunk into contempt, and his opponent, surrounded by many of the leading persons in the kingdom, in a state to dictate to him as he pleased. It is very remarkable too, that there is considerable reason to doubt whether, even at this period, he was sincere in the intention of summoning a parliament.* For, so late as December 10th, the day when he left London with the intention of quitting the country, he ordered those writs which had not been issued to be burnt, and a caveat to be entered against making use of those which had been issued. The fact of the writs having not been all issued at an interval of so many days from the time when they were ordered, has been deemed a proof that he was not in earnest in the intention of calling a parliament.†

When James on the 10th of December left London, for the purpose of making his way to France, those who had most firmly adhered

* See History of the Desertion, p. 87.

† It ought, however, to be observed, that it is not stated what proportion of the writs remained without being issued on the 10th of December; and that, possibly, they were only or chiefly those belonging to the western counties, occupied by the Prince of Orange and his adherents, to which they could not conveniently be sent.

to him immediately turned their views to the Prince of Orange, as to the only person whose protecting authority could be called in to secure the public peace. The day following, December 11th, the spiritual and temporal peers who were at that time in London and its vicinity, assembled at Guildhall, as hereditary counsellors and guardians of the kingdom, whose office it was, during the vacancy of the throne, to provide for the public safety and to take measures for the prevention of general disorder. The Archbishop of Canterbury acted at this meeting in concurrence with the other peers. It is stated* that some warm debates took place on the occasion; but at last they came to the resolution, that application should be made to the Prince of Orange, by way of declaration, to call a free parliament. The declaration was drawn up in the following terms.†

“ We doubt not but the world believes that, in this great and dangerous conjuncture, we are heartily and zealously concerned for the Protestant religion, the laws of the land, and the liberties and properties of the subject. And we did reasonably hope, that, the king having issued his proclamation and writs for

* See Life of Kettlewell, p. 187. Oct^o. Edⁿ.

† Kennett's History, v. iii. 501.

a free parliament, we might have rested secure under the expectation of that meeting. But, his Majesty having withdrawn himself, and, as we apprehend, in order to his departure out of this kingdom, by the pernicious counsels of persons ill-affected to our nation and religion, we cannot, without being wanting to our duty, be silent under these calamities, wherein the popish counsels, which so long prevailed, have miserably involved these realms: we do, therefore, unanimously resolve, to apply ourselves to his Highness the Prince of Orange, who, with so great a kindness to these kingdoms, so vast expense, and so much hazard to his own person, hath undertaken, by endeavouring to procure a free parliament, to rescue us, with as little effusion as possible of Christian blood, from the imminent dangers of popery and slavery.

“ And we do hereby declare, that we will, with our utmost endeavours, assist his Highness in the obtaining such a parliament with all speed, wherein our laws, our liberties, and properties may be secured; the Church of England in particular, with a due liberty to Protestant dissenters, and, in general, the Protestant religion and interest over the whole world, may be supported and encouraged, to the glory of God, the happiness of the established government in these kingdoms, and the advantage of

all princes and states in Christendom, that may be herein concerned.

“ In the meanwhile, we will endeavour to preserve, as much as in us lies, the peace and security of these great and populous cities of London and Westminster, and the parts adjacent, by taking care to disarm all Papists, and secure all Jesuits and Romish priests who are in and about the same.

“ And if there be anything more to be performed by us, for promoting his Highness's generous intentions for the public good, we shall be ready to do it as occasion shall require.”

This declaration was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the elect Archbishop of York, and twenty-seven other spiritual and temporal peers.

In pursuance of the avowed purpose of this meeting, the preservation of the public peace during the absence of the king,* the lords sent for the lieutenant of the Tower of London, who had lately been placed there by King James, and demanded from him the keys. The officer consented to give them without hesitation, and they intrusted the care of them to Lord Lucas, a nobleman of known honour and integrity.

* Kennett's History, v. iii. 501.

It should be well observed, that, in the preceding declaration, the peers say nothing about giving the Prince of Orange any authority in the state, either permanently or provisionally; they do not even invite him to come to the metropolis, as was done on the same day in addresses both from the lieutenancy and from the corporation of London. They merely apply to him to rescue the nation from the dangers and disorders which threatened, with as little effusion of blood as possible, and bind themselves to assist him in obtaining a free parliament, by which the interests of the church and state might be secured. It is stated,* that one of the noblemen who had been concerned in inviting the Prince of Orange to England, proposed at the meeting, that the peers there assembled should form an association of adherence to his Highness, but no one was found to second the motion.

The attendance at this meeting and signing this address to the Prince of Orange, was the last public measure in which Archbishop Sancroft bore any part. It is mentioned,† that the experience of what he saw at this first meeting did not encourage him to attend a second. The meaning is, no doubt, that he perceived the

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 187. † Ibid. p. 188.

bearing of opinions towards the total exclusion of James from the government; and as he did not approve of this measure, he declined being present at the subsequent meetings. The peers again assembled,* three days after, December 14th; and, as another measure of precaution for the peace of the kingdom, issued an order, requiring all officers and soldiers to repair to their respective regiments. Several bishops attended on this occasion; but the Archbishop of Canterbury was absent.

However, two days after, December 16th, his old master, King James, who it was thought had left the kingdom, returned from Feversham to Whitehall. He was well received by the populace in the streets, and as soon as he arrived, his court was thronged with nobility.† Among others the Archbishop of Canterbury attended, with several bishops. It is stated that the king showed himself pleased with the address which the peers assembled at Guildhall had made to the prince, and expressed to one of the bishops how sensible he was that they had shown themselves zealously concerned for him on that occasion.‡

* Kennett, iii. 532.

† See the London Mercury, December 18th.

‡ See Life of Kettlewell, p. 188.

From the share which Archbishop Sancroft took in this meeting at Guildhall, compared with his subsequent line of conduct, the strongest ground for the charge of inconsistency against him has been generally conceived to exist. But, perhaps, whatever may be thought of the whole of his conduct during these great transactions, it may not be a difficult matter in great measure to absolve him from this particular charge. It seems perfectly clear that he attended the meeting as a peer and counsellor of the realm, solely for the purpose of preserving the public peace during the absence of the king; not with the least design of declaring the throne vacant, or of transferring the sovereign authority, even for a time, to another. The terms of the declaration, which he subscribed, clearly pledge him to nothing further. He there concurs in inviting the prince to call without delay a free parliament which was the principal declared purpose of his coming to England, and to which he looked as a sufficient and sure instrument for settling the government and the church on a firm footing of security. It is true that others, who on that occasion acted with him, saw, and, we may safely say, more correctly saw, that no calling of a parliament could permanently avail to any effectual purpose while a person of

James's bigotted and headstrong disposition remained at the helm of government; and, feeling that his flight from the kingdom at that time was a virtual abdication of the throne, were prepared to invest the Prince of Orange with sovereign authority. But, as Archbishop Sancroft attended the meeting with no such feeling and intention, and seems to have maintained to the last the view on which he acted from the first, he deserves not to be charged with inconsistency.

While these important events were transacting in public, a singular and most gratifying proof of the high respect in which Archbishop Sancroft's character was held, was afforded by the University of Cambridge, in their unsolicited election of him to the distinguished office of Chancellor of that university; and in their perseverance in urging him to fill that high situation in opposition to his declared and earnest wishes.

On the first rumour of the decease of the preceding chancellor, the Duke of Albemarle, the views of some leading persons in the university seem to have been immediately directed towards the Archbishop. Before the vacancy was even ascertained, Dr. Montagu, Master of Trinity College, wrote to him to inquire whether, in the event of the choice of

the senate falling upon him, he should be willing to accept the appointment. The Archbishop sent the following reply,* in which, with many expressions of kindness and gratitude to those friends who were disposed to confer this honour upon him, he signifies his positive determination to decline it.

*To Dr. Montagu, Master of Trinity College,
Cambridge, from Archbishop Sancroft.*

Dated Lambeth H. Nov. 30th, 1688.

“HONOURABLE & MUCH HONOURED SIR,

“The news of your Chancellor’s death hath filled the town. But it comes from a place very remote; and how many persons have I known reported and believed to be dead, in London, who yet have outlived that report many years. So that, according to the common style of news, it wants a confirmation. For, should you go on to a choice, while the place is full, it would be a double affront, both to him that was, and to him that shall be chosen. Next for what concerns myself: though I am (as I ought) deeply sensible of the great honour which you (and if there be any others of your mind) have done me, in the esteem and good opinion you express of me, yet I

* See Harl. MSS. v. 3783. 80.

should very unhandsomely comply with that obligation if I should at all hearken to what you propound. My great age, and many infirmities, and the little or no power which I have, or am ever like to have, where you are chiefly to be served and protected, move me, upon due deliberation, to affirm positively that I cannot, and (to put all out of doubt, and so to save further trouble on both sides) to resolve peremptorily, that I will not, consent to that which, with so much kindness to me and so much disadvantage to yourselves, you design for me. Notwithstanding, whatever I am, or shall ever be, able to do for the service of that most illustrious body, as it is due from me upon a thousand titles, so, you may assure yourselves, shall be ever most readily and cheerfully paid you, to the utmost of my power. And, lastly, as to the supplying the vacancy, if really it shall prove to be so, I shall make no difficulty (having looked round about me) to say, that I cannot see how it can be better filled, than if you shall think fit to choose the Earl of Clarendon, who, if I had any right in the election, should not want the clear and determinate suffrage of

“ Your very affectionate,

“ Obliged, faithful Friend,

“ W. CANT.”

Notwithstanding the fixed determination here expressed, the university, on proceeding to an election after the vacancy was declared, directed their choice to the Archbishop, as the person most deserving of the high honour, and best qualified to maintain their interests and dignity. The following letters from Dr. Montagu, and from Dr. Covel, Master of Christ's College, announced to him the unanimous decision of the senate. From the first it seems clearly to be inferred that they had intended to accept his recommendation of the Earl of Clarendon, but were prevented from electing him by a letter from the king.

" Trinity College, Dec. 15th, 1688.*

" MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

" We hope your Grace will pardon us, if, after your Grace's pleasure signified to the contrary, we nevertheless presume to confer the trouble of the chancellorship upon your Grace: such has been all along the inclination of the university to your Grace's person, and such the exigency of the present affairs, that we could not, without great reluctancy to our desires, nor without manifest prejudice to our interest, forbear at this time to offer some violence to your Grace's deliberate resolution; for,

* See Harl. MSS. 3783. 81.

there coming a letter from above to intercept the choice of that noble lord* your Grace had recommended, whom before we were all prepared to have chosen, both for your Grace's sake and his own, we feared lest, after the receipt of that letter, there might follow a division of the university into parties, and, therefore, rather than lose the design of being under your Grace's protection, since we could not in the way you had proposed, we were forced to be troublesome to your Grace in your own person, being very well assured that all the university would readily and cheerfully unite in your Grace's name; which accordingly was unanimously resolved upon this morning, in the Regent House; so that we doubt not your Grace will easily excuse the importunity of this election, since what was our earnest desire, became at last our necessity too, Providence so ordering it, that we should be made happy by your Grace in this way, though against your Grace's intentions. My Lord, I humbly beg your Grace's benediction, and remain

“ Your Grace's most dutiful

“ And obedient Servant,

“ JO. MONTAGU.”

* The Earl of Clarendon had gone over to the Prince of Orange in the beginning of this month; which sufficiently explains the cause of the king's writing to prevent his election.

“ Chr. Coll. Camb. Dec. 15th, 1688.*

“ MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

“ My Lord, this morning your Grace was chosen Chancellor of our University, by the unanimous consent of the senate; which we hope you will interpret no otherwise than as our most humble duty and profound respect unto you. I must confess it ever was my opinion that we could be nowhere so happy as under your protection, and I must acknowledge it my greatest joy, that, by our joint consent, we have thus marked out the Father of our Church for our most sincere Patron. To-morrow, the whole Senate will make their humble address to your Grace by our public letter; but I counted myself more particularly obliged (first begging your blessing) by this more early notice to lay my own most affectionate services at your sacred feet.

“ My Lord, your Grace’s

“ Most obedient Son,

“ And faithful Servant,

“ JOH. COVEL.”

The following is the public official letter of the University to the Archbishop, announcing his election, which was approved and voted in the senate on the same day.†

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 82.

† Ibid. 3783. 83.

“ E freq. Senatu, 16 Cal. Jan. 1688.

“ Quod te dudum annis gravem, et gloriâ, magnisque nunquam non rebus, nunc autem maximis, distentum, ad novas vocamus curas, id more hominum facimus, Reverendissime Præsul, apud quos obtinet (seu id vitium est seu natura nostra) ut sibi proximus quisque quæ ad se attinent anxie agat, nimis interim securus spectator alieni. Neque enim pensitamus quid canis vestris conveniat, quid præteritis laboribus, quid imminentibus, debeatur; sed quid rebus nostris sit utile, quid nobis usui maximè futurum. Quocirca, simul atque nobis constitisset desiisse jam esse mortalem nuperum Heroem Albemarlensem, simul omnes te unice intuemur, te unum poscimus Cancellarium. Sapimus itaque ut ut immodesti, nec in nobis prudentiam requirat quisquam, utcunque clamet inverecundiùs factum. Accipe autem, pietissime Antistes, æquique consulas munus illud, quod tibi quam demississimis offert precibus Alma Mater. Quæ te olim suum gloriata, jam se vicissim tuam vocari gestit. Est quidem illud eminentiâ vestrâ haud ita fortasse dignum, dignum tamen quod a nobis offeratur, cum non sit penes nos quidquam par aut simile: Quod si contractius apparet et imminutum, amplitudini detur vestræ, quæ tanta est ut vel maxima quæque minora videantur, si cum eâ

juxta posita conferantur. At nos solatur eximius animi vestri candor, singularis illa et rara in tam sublimi loco moderatio; solatur verè paterna pietas, quâ es in omnes filios vestros, quos non verbis magis quam factis ad verum numinis cultum instruis, iisque illustri documento ostendis, quam arcto nexu socientur fides Deo debita, quæque debetur principi fidelitas. Diu nobis præfuisti exemplo; superest dehinc imperio agas, et auctoritate, quam, tot virtutibus comparatam, tantis subnixam dotibus, stabilem vovemus, et diuturnam.

“ Paternitati vestræ devotissimi

“ Procancellarius reliquusque

“ SENAT. ACAD. CANTABRIG.”

Dr. Covel, in transmitting to the Archbishop this public letter, wrote privately to Dr. Paman, then resident in his household at Lambeth Palace, in the following terms, explaining the motives which had induced the senate to persevere in their choice, and expressing the hope that he might still be induced to accede to their wishes.

“ December 17th, 1688.*

“ SIR,

“ This person comes with our public letter to wait upon my Lord Archbishop, now our Chancellor elect; your last letter came too

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 84.

late, for we had chosen him the day before. But, good Doctor, be not troubled, for it was our own act and deed, *motu proprio*; what advices others had, or what particular design they might relate to, I know not; but my own proper motive was, our universal benefit; which, as I thought, we could nowhere so securely lodge, as where we have done it; these seemed to be the thoughts of the generality of men that I conversed with, and by the votes I guess it to have been the opinion of all the rest. However, if his Grace be displeased, we hope we shall by this means gain some more time to look about us better; we have fourteen days more after his refusal; I profess it would trouble me extremely if his Grace should be offended at what I am sure we intended as an expression of our unfeigned duty and respect, as much as consulting of our own interest. In this juncture of affairs, I fully persuade myself his Grace may be induced to patronize his university, so far at least as to let us have so much opportunity of settling our affairs with the greatest deliberation that he can afford us. With my hearty respects to you, I subscribe myself,

“ Worthy Sir,

“ Your ever faithful Servant,

“ JOH. COVEL.”

“ *To the worthy Dr. Henry Paman, at my Lord
Archbishop's Palace, at Lambeth.*”

Fixed as the Archbishop was, from the first, in the determination not to accept the office of chancellor, it was very improbable that the course which events took subsequently to his election would bring him to a different decision: for he must very soon have perceived what the consequence of these events to himself was likely to prove. Still, the University seem to have awaited his final resolve with becoming deference, leaving the office at his disposal for a considerable time. By the following letter addressed to him from Dr. Covel, bearing date the 23d of the following February, more than two months after the date of his election, it appears that no steps had been taken at that time towards proceeding to another election.

Feb. 23d, 1688.*

“ MY LORD, MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE.

“ I presumed some weeks since to give you the trouble of an humble address, for which I beg a thousand pardons, if, as I fear by your silence, it was unseasonable: yet I cannot but count it my duty now to acquaint you, as our chancellor, that we have thoughts of some verses to their Majesties, and I am told by some from London that they may be expected. I humbly beg one word of advice next post or

* Harl. MSS. 3783. 85.

sooner; for, if the affair go on, it will be time we should begin forthwith. I humbly and heartily beg your blessing.

“ My Lord,

“ Your Grace’s most obedient Son,

“ And faithful Servant,

“ JOH. COVEL.”

It will be observed that “ their majesties” spoken of in this letter were William and Mary, whom the Archbishop, from conscientious motives, already refused to acknowledge.

At what precise period they proceeded to another election, on Archbishop Sancroft’s declining the honour, cannot be ascertained; but as a letter of thanks* to the university from the Duke of Somerset, the nobleman elected in his room, bears date March 20th, 168 $\frac{8}{9}$, it may be concluded that his election took place about the middle of that month.

* In the Registrar’s Office at Cambridge.

CHAPTER X.

FROM THE ARRIVAL OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE
IN LONDON, TILL THE TIME OF ARCHBISHOP
SANCROFT'S FINALLY RETIRING FROM THE
SEE.

Refusal of the Archbishop to wait on the Prince of Orange, or take any part in the public Measures—His views respecting the settling of the Government—Appointment of King William and Queen Mary to the Throne—Reflections on his taking no part in the great public Transactions—His refusal to take the new Oath—General regret at his Scruples—Attempts of his Friends in his favour—His Suspension and Deprivation—Appointment of a Successor—Retains Possession of Lambeth Palace till ejected by Law.

THE day after the arrival of the Prince of Orange in London, all the prelates who were in or near the metropolis, with the exception of the Archbishop of Canterbury, waited on him to pay their respects. Bishop Burnet states* that the Archbishop had once consented to wait on him; but this fact rests on his sole authority. When the House of Lords assembled, December 22d, the Archbishop was absent from his place there. His friends were extremely urgent in pressing his attendance; he showed great disinclination to take this step; but at

* See Burnet's Own Times, v. i. p. 802.

one time they thought they had prevailed. So important did some of them deem it to procure his attendance, that on perceiving his absence, they actually sent a message from the House to press him to come. His refusal was attributed at the time to the damp thrown upon his spirits by the king's departure.*

One of the first letters which King James wrote after his departure from the kingdom was addressed to Archbishop Sancroft. In this he told him that the suddenness of his departure had been such, as to prevent his holding a conversation with him, as he had intended, in order to lay before him the motives of his conversion to the Roman Catholic religion; that, although he had not thought proper to enter largely into this subject on a former occasion, when he (the Archbishop) had attempted to bring him back to the Protestant church, yet he never refused speaking freely

* See Diary of the Earl of Clarendon.—“Dec. 22d. My brother and I dined at Lambeth, where we met the Bishops of Ely and Peterborough: our business was to persuade the Archbishop to come to the House of Lords, to which he was extremely averse; but at last we prevailed with him, and he promised us to be there on Monday.

“Dec. 24th. The House of Lords met. My Lord of Canterbury came not—the Bishop of Ely and I sent to him, but the king's being gone had cast such a damp upon him that he would not come, which many of us were sorry for. His declaring himself at this time would have had weight among us.”

with persons of the Protestant persuasion, and particularly with himself, whom he always considered to be his friend, and for whom he had a great esteem. He added, that he had remained for many years a zealous son of the church of England, in whose doctrine he had been educated; that he had not been persuaded to change his religion while he was young, and resident abroad, but that his conversion had taken place in his riper years, and on the full conviction of his mind as to the controverted points.* Probably, the expressions of kindness contained in this letter contributed to confirm the Archbishop in the conscientious attachment to James, which he ever afterwards displayed.

In the mean time, the Archbishop's friends were urgent with him to wait upon the Prince of Orange, or to send a message to him by some of the bishops; but this he positively refused. Lord Clarendon states, that he frequently pressed this point, without success. The same nobleman mentions, that, on the 3d of January, he dined with the Archbishop, in company with Dr. Tennison, and had some conversation with him on the subject of the ap-

* See Stuart Papers, v. i. 539, 540; taken from King James's Private Memoirs.

proaching convention. He asked the Archbishop, whether he should not think of preparing something by that time in behalf of the Dissenters. Dr. Tennison added, it would be expected by the public that something would be offered in pursuance of the petition which the bishops had presented to the king. The Archbishop said, he was well aware of the contents of the petition; and he believed every bishop in England intended to make it good, when an opportunity should be afforded of debating these matters in Convocation; but, till that should occur, or without a commission from the king, it was highly penal to enter into church matters: however, he said he would bear the subject in mind, and should be willing to discourse respecting it with any of the bishops or clergy who might come to him, although he believed the Dissenters would never agree amongst themselves, as to the conditions that would satisfy them. To this Dr. Tennison replied, that he was quite of the same opinion, although he had not discoursed with any of them on the subject. He added, that the proper mode of proceeding was, not that the matter should be discussed beforehand with the Dissenters, but that the bishops should propose such concessions in parliament as would be advantageous to the Church whether

accepted by the Dissenters or not. The Archbishop answered, that, when a Convocation should meet, these matters would be considered; in the meantime, he knew not what to say, but would think of what had now been proposed by them.*

During all this period, the Archbishop, although he forbore to come forward in public, or to take any steps which would pledge him to an opinion on the important question of settling the government, was very anxiously employed in private in discussing the subject, and thereby endeavouring to come to a right decision. Amongst his papers† which now remain, written with his own hand, are full and copious statements of the arguments adduced on all sides of the question; and from the pains and labour manifestly bestowed on collecting and putting these together, we have the most convincing proof that he formed his ultimate judgment on no light view of the subject, and not without a mature consideration of it in all its bearings.

* Clarendon's Diary, January 3d, 1688.

† See Tanner's MSS. particularly vol. 459, which is almost entirely written with the Archbishop's own hand, and contains copious discussions respecting the settlement of the government, the new oaths, the statute of præmunire, and other similar topics.

One of the principal papers referred to, is entitled “The present State of the English Government considered.—January, 1688.”* A few extracts from this will give an interesting view of the manner in which he discussed the subject, and of the views of it which principally struck him.

It begins as follows.

“The fact.—The king, by reason of some unhappy principles, opposite to the religion and interest of his people, acted contrary to those laws wherein the people esteemed their greatest security to be, and against reason of state, to that degree that most people wished for any means to be relieved, and many encouraged a foreign force to invade England. This succeeding, all the people deserted the king, some by joining with the foreign force, others by sitting still, and wishing well to the reformation intended: and the king, having no power to resist, leaves the kingdom without any provision for carrying on the government in his absence. By these means, the government is without a pilot. The captain of the foreign force, (in whom the visible power rests,) at the

* See Tanner's MSS. 459. 1. The paper consists of twenty-five pages, written in the Archbishop's very close hand writing.

instance of the nobility, and some commoners, accepts the administration of the public affairs, both military and civil, until a convention of the estates of the kingdom meet, to consider and resolve how to settle the government legally and securely.

“ For this three ways are mentioned in discourse.

1. “ To declare the commander of the foreign force king, and solemnly to crown him.

2. “ To set up the next heir of the crown after the king’s death and crown her; who, being the wife of the said commander, he will hereby have an interest in the conduct of the government in her right.

3. “ To declare the king, by reason of such his principles, and his resolutions to act accordingly, incapable of the government, with which such principles and resolutions are inconsistent and incompatible; and to declare the commander Custos Regni, who shall carry on the government in the king’s right and name.

“ I am clearly of opinion that the last way is the best, and that a settlement cannot be made so justifiable and lasting any other way.”

After stating some of the chief maxims of our law respecting the government,—as that the government of England is monarchical and hereditary, that the king never dies, that he can do

no wrong, that he is not punishable in his own person, that no disability, as infancy, deliracy, can be alleged in his person; he proceeds to discuss the three proposed forms of settling the government, first as to the right of fixing on each respectively, and then as to the advantage or disadvantage which attaches to each. On the right of appointing the chief commander king, he says,—

1st. “ It has been affirmed by some that, by the king’s misgovernment, the government of England is dissolved. The very mention of this sufficiently exposeth it. For then there remains no law, no property; the rich are exposed to be plundered; all estates and honours are levelled, &c.

2d. “ If the commander had declared an absolute conquest of the kingdom, the question of right had been out of doors, for then he might have done what he had pleased, as well in ordering the method of government, as in disposing of all men’s estates, and all rights general and particular must have been derived from him. But, since it is referred to the convention to consider how to restore the ancient government, and to settle it legally, so that it may not be again legally subverted, the main question that remains is concerning the right, according to the laws of England.

3dly. “ Therefore, as the laws of England stand, nothing can colour the exclusion of the present king, and the setting up another, though we should suppose the whole people of England acting on it, unless we suppose also that they have an authority residing in them to judge, depose, and elect kings ad libitum: but that is contrary to the known maxims of the law of England above recited.”

After proceeding to show, from the history of England, that the right of electing kings was never pretended but by prosperous usurpers, and that, even if this right were allowed, still the personal consent of every subject would be necessary, he concludes on this head, “ That there is no manner of pretence for the succeeding convention to alter the government: and, if it be done at all, it must be by force of conquest.”

He then discusses the second expedient, of declaring the next heir regent in her own right, and this must be upon supposal of a right to the crown devolved upon her, like that of a natural death; and, to introduce that, the present title must be vacated and laid aside, either by deposal or by voluntary abdication. After further arguing against the right to depose, he says, on the question of abdication, which was most to the present point,

“How far a prince may withdraw from his government I will not dispute by the rules of the civil law, or by the opinion of Grotius—but I do affirm that, by the common law of England, which is to judge between the king and his people in all cases that can happen; the king and people, that is, the mutual ties of protection and subjection, cannot be separated or dissolved by any human mean whatsoever, much less by the king’s act alone.”

After confirming this position, he concludes, p. 15.

“That which weighs down this matter is, that by the law of England the king cannot abdicate himself; for it is not only his right to be king, but it is the right of all the people of England, and of every individual person in it, that the government and justice of England should be in the king’s name, whereby all pretences of usurpation and consequently tyranny, besides the wars and effusions of blood in the transactions, are obviated. Nothing that any private man can do will determine his being a subject to the king; and upon the same reason, nothing that the king can do can make him cease to be king. If once the style of the government be altered, how just a claim have any strong combinations to refuse obedience, or, if they can, even to assume the governing power. For

they may say, *Jacobus Rex* I know, but who are you. If the right stands, agreed. *Jam sumus ergo pares.* But if a new power, why not we? All which cannot be answered but by force of arms; against which government is chiefly intended."

He then comes to consider the third plan of proceeding, "to declare the king *inhabilis quod regimen Angliæ*, and to appoint a *custos*, who shall carry on the government in his name, and by his authority." "It has been observed," he says, that the political capacity or authority of the king, and his name in the government, are perfect and cannot fail: but his person being human and mortal, and not otherwise privileged than the rest of mankind, is subject to all the defects and failings of it. He may, therefore, be incapable of directing the government, and dispensing the public treasure, &c. either by absence, by infancy, by lunacy, deliracy, or apathy, whether by nature or casual infirmity, or, lastly, by some invincible prejudices of mind, contracted and fixed by education and habit, with unalterable resolutions superinduced, in matters wholly inconsistent and incompatible with the laws, religion, peace and true policy of the kingdom. In all these cases (I say) there must be some one or more persons appointed to supply such defect, and vicariously

to him, and by his power and authority, to direct public affairs. And this done, I say further, that all proceedings, authorities, commissions, grants, &c., issued as formerly, are legal and valid to all intents, and the people's allegiance is the same still, their oaths and obligations no way thwarted."

After considering the right of the proposed plans, he proceeds to the advantages or disadvantages resulting from them, and concludes with the following excellent passage, in which, whatever may be thought of his application of the principle, he admirably lays down the principle itself, so valuable in the judgment of every sound statesman and moralist, that the practice of what is just and right will always prove the best policy in the main issue of events.

"Upon the whole, having compared the expedients of a king *de facto* and a *custos regni* in point of security, I think the latter of the two is the more firm and secure settlement. But then, adding that it is the only just one, too, what reason can be pretended against the using of it. For, after all, it is a great truth, that the mind and opinion of every individual person is an ingredient into the happiness or ruin of a government, though it be not discerned till it comes to the eruption of a general discontent. Things just, and good, and grateful, should be

done, without expectation of immediate payment for so doing, but in the course and felicity of proceedings, wherein there will certainly, though insensibly, be a full return. For all things, in which the public is concerned, tend constantly, though slowly, and at last violently, to the justice of them: and if a vis impressa happens and carries them (as for the most part it doth) beyond or beside what is just; yet that secret vigour and influence of particular and private men's inclinations brings them back again to the true perpendicular. And, whoever he is that hath to do in the public, and slights these considerations, preferring some political scheme before them, shall find his hypothesis full of flattery at the first, of trouble in the proceeding, and of confusion at the last."

The difficulty of taking the oath of allegiance to a new sovereign, during the life-time of a former, evidently struck him forcibly at this period. In one part he says, "There is a further difficulty in the way of a king *de facto*, which is not in the way of a *custos*, from the oaths of allegiance, supremacy, and fealty. For how can he, who hath sworn that King James II. is the only lawful king of this realm, or that he will bear faith and true allegiance to him, his heirs and successors, take those oaths to an

usurper? And, if he takes them not, how can there be regular parliaments or officers, all being disabled that do not take them. But, so long as the government moves by the king's authority and in his name, all those sacred ties, and settled forms of proceedings are kept, and no man's conscience burthened with any thing he needs scruple to undertake."

It appears that, during this period of anxiety and expectation respecting the best mode of settling the government, Archbishop Sancroft held frequent consultations on the subject with his brethren on the bench, and with other leading persons. The following letter* addressed to him by Turner, Bishop of Ely, refers to one of these consultations; and shows that an intention, in which the Archbishop participated, then prevailed among them, of preparing a paper to be presented to the Convention.

Ely House, January 11th, 1688.

"MAY IT PLEASE YOUR GRACE,

"If your Grace will forgive me and my brother our unwelcome importunities yesterday, I will offer nothing at this time that I believe will be unacceptable, but something that, I hope, meets your own thoughts and in-

* Clarendon's Appendix, p. 539.

clinations. And it is this, to proceed in the designs of drawing up propositions of our doctrine against deposing, electing, or breaking the succession. And this scheme we humbly and earnestly beg of your Grace to form and put into order for us. Without compliment, your Grace is better versed than all of us together in those repositories of canons and statutes, whence these propositions should be taken. If you please, my Lord, to cast your eye upon the enclosed paper of little hints from our oaths, your Grace will see through my design upon you; and, I hope, will oblige us all by undertaking it. The common law papers will furnish your Grace with arguments of that kind. Could your Grace finish this, so that we might meet and settle it to-morrow, and perfect something of a preface before it, of inference upon it, from my Lord of Bath and Wells's draught; then we might communicate all this to some of our ablest advisers, and have it ready to present if occasion require. We came home from Lambeth, four bishops, in my coach, and we could not but deplore our case that we should disagree in any thing, and such a thing as the world must needs observe. But their observing this and insulting thereupon, makes it the more necessary for us and our vindication to find out something in which we all can agree,

and the world may take notice of our agreement. And I see nothing likely to unite us, and satisfy good men, who are now expecting and fixing their hopes as well as eyes upon us, as the body to make the stand, but such a representation as I propose. Meanwhile, if your Grace will be pleased thus to lay out your time and thoughts for us, we shall not be idle, but, I hope, very well busied this afternoon; for there is to be a meeting at Ely House of the most considerable city clergymen, Dr. Patrick, Dr. Tennison, Dr. Sherlock, and Dr. Scott: the three last, we are sure, are in our sentiments entirely, so are many, if not most, of the London ministers; three bishops, St. Asaph, Peterborough and myself, will be present, and Dr. Burnet is to sustain his notion of the forfeiture. Since I promised your Grace the paper I read at Lambeth, about the method of our proceeding, I send it; it signifies little, and your Grace does not need it. But I inclose to your Grace another paper, which ought to be kept very private, but may be published one day to show we have not been wanting faithfully to serve a hard master in his extremity; and, for the present, it will be proof enough to your Grace, that, although I have made some steps, which you could not, towards our new masters, I did it purely to serve our old one, and preserve the

public. I beg your Grace's pardon for all my encroachments upon your goodness, and remain, with the greatest sincerity,

“ May it please your Grace,

“ Your most obedient and most

“ obliged affectionate Servant,

“ FRAN. ELY.”

On the 15th of the same month, a considerable meeting of bishops, noblemen and others, took place at Lambeth Palace, amongst whom were the Earl of Clarendon and the celebrated Mr. Evelyn.* After prayers and dinner, the discourse fell on various serious matters connected with the existing state of public affairs. Mr. Evelyn expresses his regret that there should be, at that time, so little agreement in opinion among the leading persons both of the Lords and Commons, who were soon to convene. Some, he says, were disposed to have the princess proclaimed queen without hesitation, others inclined for a regency: there was a Tory party who were disposed to invite the king back on conditions, and there were republicans, who wished to make the Prince of Orange Stadholder: the Popish party were busy in endeavouring to throw all parties into confu-

* See Evelyn's Diary, January 15th, 1688.

sion : the greater part of the world seemed actuated by ambition, or some other interest, few by conscience or moderate views. He adds, that he saw nothing of this variety of motives and objects in this assembly of bishops, who were pleased to admit him to their discussions; they were unanimous* for a regency, and for suffering all public matters to proceed in the king's name; the effect of which would be, to preclude all scruples as to their oath of allegiance, and to facilitate the calling of a parliament, according to the laws in being.

Lord Clarendon says,† that at this meeting, he urged the Archbishop (as earnestly as he could) to come to the approaching Convention, if it

* Evelyn mentions that the bishops who were present with the Archbishop at this meeting were, Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Kenn, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Lake, of Chichester. It is observable that every one of these, with the single exception of Lloyd of St. Asaph, remained firm to the opinion he entertained at this meeting, and refused to take the oaths to King William. It is remarkable too, that Lord Clarendon, in his account of what passed at the meeting, shows that he saw the turn which the opinions of the latter bishop were taking. He says, "by some words he dropt, I fear he is too much wheedled by Burnet, and will be influenced by him to go further, to make the king's going away a cession (a word he is very fond of), than I wish, or than will be fit for the public good."—Clarendon's Diary, January 15th.

† Ibid.

were only for once, for the purpose of declaring his opinion, which would have great authority; but, he adds, he would not promise. On the day before the assembling of the Convention, January 21st, he went again to Lambeth, having promised the Archbishop to see him once more before the meeting. He found there most of the bishops who were in town; they all concurred in pressing the Archbishop to attend the Convention, but he was obstinately resolved not to be there.

The Convention assembled on the 22d of January. The Houses, after voting an address of thanks to the Prince, proceeded to consider what steps were to be taken for the settlement of the government in the existing emergency. The Commons had no difficulty in coming to the resolution, that “King James, having broken the original contract between king and people, and, by the advice of wicked persons, violated the laws, and withdrawn himself from the kingdom, hath abdicated the government, and the throne is thereby vacant.”* This they

* The following is related by Dr. Birch, in his *Life of Tillotson*, p. 162.

“Mr. afterwards Sir Isaac, Newton happened to be at Lambeth Palace, when the intelligence was brought that the Commons had declared the throne vacant. The Archbishop appeared concerned at it, and said, he wished they had gone on a

soon followed up by another resolution, that Popery is inconsistent with the English constitution, and that, therefore, all Papists shall be for ever excluded from the succession to the English crown. The peers were much more slow in acceding to these resolutions, especially to that respecting the abdication of the king, and the existing vacancy of the throne. The question being moved, whether they should appoint a regent or a king, the latter alternative was only carried by a majority of two, the numbers being forty nine and fifty one. Amongst the bishops, and clergy in general, a strong feeling prevailed against every thing which could bear the semblance of a deposing power, which was amongst the most flagrant usurpations of Popery. Accordingly, only two bishops, those of London and Bristol, voted in favour of filling up the throne as vacant; the Archbishop of York, and eight other bishops,

more regular method, and examined into the birth of the young child: he added, that there was reason to believe he was not the same as the first, which might be easily known, for he had a mole on his neck." This anecdote is remarkable; and, if true, would prove that the Archbishop then entertained doubts respecting the legitimacy of King James's son. But there is no other reason to suppose that he ever entertained doubts on this subject; and it will appear, that he afterwards spoke of him without qualification or doubt, as Prince of Wales.

voted for a regency. After various debates and conferences between the two houses, they at last happily came to the joint resolution, the only one which afforded a reasonable prospect of settling the government on a permanent foundation, and of giving real security to the public liberties, that, the throne being then actually vacant, the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared king and queen. On Wednesday, Februry 13th, the two Houses waited on them with a declaration to this effect, and on the same day, they were proclaimed in the metropolis, to the great joy and satisfaction of the people.*

* Mr. Evelyn in his Diary, on February 21st, notes as follows :—

“ Divers bishops and noblemen are not all satisfied with this so sudden assumption of the crown, without any previous sending and offering some conditions to the absent king. The Archbishop of Canterbury and some of the rest, on scruple of conscience, and to save the oaths they had taken, entered their protests and hung off, especially the Archbishop, who had not all this while so much as appeared out of Lambeth. This occasioned the wonder of many who observed with what zeal they contributed to the Prince’s expedition, and all the while also rejecting any proposals of sending again to the absent king, that they should now raise scruples, and such as created much division amongst the people, greatly rejoicing the old courtiers, and especially the Papists.” We perceive no trace of the Archbishop’s having entered any protest against the proceedings, as is here stated.

In all these important proceedings, Archbishop Sancroft took no public part whatever, never once entering the House of Lords, or declaring his opinion in any public manner. In consequence, Bishop Burnet* and others have severely censured him, as acting a mean part in these great transactions, such as neither became his character nor his station. And, in truth, it seems by no means easy for the most partial hand to assign any sufficient reason for his conduct, or to suggest any adequate grounds on which it may be justified. As the chief minister of that church, whose interests were mainly concerned in this revolution of the government, as the first peer and counsellor of the realm, as an individual who had taken so prominent a part in the events which had led to this emergency, and whose acknowledged virtues and abilities concurred with the feeling of his past services to give weight to his opinion, and to place him on a high ground of popularity with persons of all ranks, he seemed peculiarly called upon to declare his views of the existing state of things, and to endeavour to guide the counsels of the nation to a right decision in so diffi-

* See Burnet's Own Times, v. i. 810; and his Reflexions on a Pamphlet entitled "Some Discourses on Dr. Burnet and Dr. Tillotson, occasioned by the late Funeral Sermon of the former upon the latter," p. 100.

cult a crisis. If, as appears from what is expressed in his private writings, and from his subsequent line of conduct, he thought that the nation were in danger of violating their allegiance to a legitimate sovereign, it was surely his duty, both to that sovereign and to the nation, boldly to deliver the reasons on which his opinion was founded, and to endeavour to prevent their proceeding in so erroneous a course. Possibly, he disallowed the authority by which this Convention was called; but still he must have recollected that it consisted of all the persons in the nation, who from official and hereditary rank, from property and general influence, were proper to be intrusted with the high charge of settling the government; and that, under the circumstances, no council could be formed for this purpose, better qualified or more legally convened. It cannot be said that he found the current of opinion going so strong in one direction that he thought it a vain attempt to resist it; for, as has already been stated, in the House of Peers, the balance was so nearly equal, that the smallest addition would have given ascendancy to the opposite scale.

Bishop Burnet says,* “It is the most favour-

* See Burnet's Reflexions, as above.

able judgment to think that he was more indifferent about this matter, than some would lead us to suppose." But surely, if by this imputed indifference be meant a want of anxious concern as to the issue of the great struggle in which the nation was now engaged, the extracts which have been given from his private papers, and his whole behaviour, both before and after this period, most fully exempt him from such a charge.

The most probable supposition is one which, although it may account for his conduct, will certainly not excuse it; namely, that, under the conflicting views which presented themselves to his mind, he really could not satisfy himself as to the course which, on the whole, was best, and, therefore, abstained from taking any part at all. On the one hand, his long experience of James's bigotted temper, and of the impossibility of relying on his promises and assurances in matters where his religion was concerned, must have excited in him a latent conviction that no real security could be afforded to the liberties of the subject, and to the Protestant Church, while an opening was left for his resumption of the government. On the other hand, his strong feeling of that monarch's indefeasible right to the throne, and his fixed conscientious determination not to transfer his

allegiance to another, prevented his acquiescing in the measure of his total exclusion, without which he still felt that nothing effectual would be done. As to the notion which, as we have seen, he in common with others, privately entertained, of declaring the king incapable of reigning on account of his invincible prejudices, and therefore appointing a person to govern in his name, he must soon have seen the numerous objections to such a step. For what would this have been, but to depose the king in fact, though not in name, by forcibly depriving him of the government which belonged of right to him? And what an unsettled form of government would thus have been set up. For “the invincible prejudices” which were held to disqualify James, must have disqualified every Popish successor to the throne, or else the same struggle for the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom would probably have recurred. But, if all Popish successors to the throne had been made nominally kings, but disqualified from acting personally in the office on account of their invincible prejudices, a most strange and inconvenient mode of administering the government would have been introduced. The Archbishop’s clear and discerning mind must soon have seen the numerous objections to this plan; and it was probably his knowledge of

these objections, and his inability to devise a better plan, or one more to his satisfaction, which prevented him from taking any public part at all.

The refusal of a person so eminent in station and character, as Archbishop Sancroft, to bear any part in the public measures which were now agreed upon, and the circumstance of his not having paid his respects to the Prince of Orange, must have occasioned considerable uneasiness to those concerned in the new establishment of the government; since, in proportion as his former services, his known integrity, and his high popularity attached value to his concurrence, must have been the regret and disappointment felt at his withholding it. The Prince and Princess appear to have been extremely solicitous to know his real sentiments. A remarkable anecdote, testifying this, is related by Mr. Wharton, the Archbishop's chaplain.* On the day on which the new sovereigns were proclaimed, the queen sent two of her chaplains to Lambeth Palace to ask the Archbishop's blessing for her; and, at the same time, by attending divine service in his chapel, to observe whether he offered up his prayers for the new king and queen. Mr. Wharton states,

* See Wharton's Diary in the Appendix.

that he himself was then the only chaplain in attendance; and that, feeling the delicacy of the situation, and being fearful of doing any thing which might commit the Archbishop, he went to him to receive his directions on the subject. His Grace told him that he had no new instructions to give him as to the prayers to be used in the chapel. By this Mr. Wharton understood him tacitly to leave the matter to his discretion; for the chaplains had before made alterations in the selection of prayers which they read, without any special directions from him; but the Archbishop seems evidently to have meant, by saying that he had no new instructions to give, that he desired no alterations to be made. Mr. Wharton, however, conceiving that the matter was left to his discretion, having himself determined to pay his allegiance to those sovereigns whom the will of God had endowed with lawful authority over him, and being anxious not to be the means of bringing the Archbishop into difficulty, prayed publicly in the chapel for King William and Queen Mary. In the evening, his Grace sent for him, and with great heat told him, that he must thenceforward desist from offering prayers for the new king and queen, or else from performing the duties of his chapel; for, as long as King James was alive, no other persons could be

sovereigns of the country. Mr. Wharton, after relating this anecdote, says—"The Archbishop had derived these scruples from the Bishops of Norwich, Chichester, and Ely, to the great detriment of the church; for, from this period, he, who might have carried every thing as he pleased, so entirely lost all authority in the state, that the church was brought into considerable danger."—Bishop Burnet* mentions it as a proof of the Archbishop's indifference in these matters, that, though his chaplains took the new oaths, they were not afterwards discountenanced by him. He should rather have mentioned it as a mark of his tolerant and indulgent temper, and of his willingness freely to allow to others that right which he claimed for himself, of acting and thinking from pure conscientious motives.

The oath of allegiance to the new sovereigns was taken by the two houses of parliament on the first days in the month of March. In the House of Commons very few refused to take it, but many in the House of Lords: in the first instance, not more than ninety temporal, and eight spiritual peers complied; but more were afterwards added. The prelates who took the oath were the Archbishop of York, the Bishops

* See Burnet's Reflexions, p. 100.

of London, Lincoln, Bristol, Winchester, Rochester, Llandaff, and St. Asaph; the Bishops of Carlisle and St. David's afterwards followed their example. Those who, from a conscientious regard to the oath of allegiance they had taken to King James, absolutely refused to transfer their allegiance to the new government were, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Kenn Bishop of Bath and Wells, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, Lloyd of Norwich, White of Peterborough, Thomas of Worcester, Lake of Chichester, and Cartwright of Chester.

It is remarkable how soon the number of these prelates who refused the oath was diminished by death; three of them, Thomas,* Cartwright, and Lake, died in the course of this very year; the two first, before they incurred suspension; and the last before he incurred the heavier penalty of deprivation.

King William showed every disposition on his

* Thomas, Bishop of Worcester, just before his death, sent for Dr. Hickes, the dean of his cathedral, and declared to him in the strongest terms his opinions respecting the new oaths. Among other things he said—"It is time for me now to die, who have outlived the honour of my religion and the liberties of my country.—If my heart deceive me not, and the grace of God fail me not, I think I could burn at a stake before I took this new oath." Lake, Bishop of Chichester, made a similar declaration on his death-bed.—Life of Kettlewell, p. 199, 203.

part to conciliate Archbishop Sancroft. The day after he was proclaimed king, he appointed his list of privy counsellors; and, notwithstanding the backwardness which the Archbishop had shown in paying his respects to him, he nominated him in the list.* The Archbishop, it need not be mentioned, never took his seat at the privy council.

Hopes were entertained for some time that he would, on further consideration, concur with the great body of the nation in taking the new oath of allegiance; and these hopes were perhaps strengthened by his consenting so far to exercise the functions of his office as to commission other bishops to act in his name. He was called upon to do this at an early period of the new reign, with a view to the consecration of Dr. Burnet to the Bishopric of Salisbury. Burnet† affirms, that the Archbishop at first absolutely refused to allow him to be consecrated at all; but, afterwards discovering that he should incur the penalties of a præmunire for disobeying the royal mandate, he consented to grant a commission for the purpose. He adds, that at first the Archbishop seemed determined to venture incurring all the penalties, but at last, when the danger drew

* See London Gazettes.

† Burnet's Own Times, vol. ii. p. 8.

near, he prevented it by granting the commission. It bore date the 15th of March, and empowered any three of the bishops of his province, in conjunction with the Bishop of London, to exercise during pleasure the archiepiscopal authority. It was drawn up* in very cautious terms so as not to imply the least direct acknowledgement of the prince filling the throne.

A charge of inconsistency† against Archbishop Sancroft has been grounded on this act of his consenting to grant a commission to enable others to do what he deemed it unlawful to do himself. It may readily be allowed that, strictly speaking, he cannot be absolved from the charge, since one who acts by means of others, must be considered as acting for himself; and it is in vain to say that the commission did not in direct terms acknowledge the prince on the throne, when the very purpose for which it was granted, that of giving effect to his mandate, unavoidably implied a direct acknowledgement of his authority. At the same time, it is always found that a wide difference is made as to the feelings of a person concerned, whether he personally and directly

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 343.

† See Burnet's Own Times, and Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 330.

performs an act, or whether, remaining aloof himself, he merely acquiesces in its being performed by others. In the present instance too, although the Archbishop did not choose himself to acknowledge the reigning authority, he may have felt unwilling directly to oppose himself to it; which would have been done by his refusing to consecrate. It has been stated,* that the nonjuring party afterwards complained of him for granting this commission; and that, in consequence, after the transaction was over, he contrived to have it withdrawn from the Registrar's office.

As the Archbishop persevered in neither attending the House of Lords, nor acknowledging the authority of either the king or the parliament, the Lords, on the 22d of March, addressed to him a letter,† admonishing him to attend there in his place the next day. He excused himself by an answer which they did not deem satisfactory: they adjourned the debate on it till the following day, but then they did not think proper to pursue the point, being sensible how strong a feeling prevailed with the public respecting the severe usage which the episcopal order had recently experienced,

* See Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 330.

† See the Lords' Journals: also Evelyn's Diary, March 29, 1689.

On the 11th of April, the king and queen were crowned, and the ceremony was performed by the Bishop of London. Since, under ordinary circumstances, the Archbishop of Canterbury was the person who ought to administer the coronation oath, a particular statute was passed, enjoining that it should be administered either by the Archbishop of Canterbury, or by the Bishop of London, according to the discretion of the king; and he, knowing the probability of a refusal from the Archbishop, fixed upon the Bishop of London for that purpose.*

On the day subsequent to this, Mr. Evelyn mentions,† in his Diary, that he visited the Archbishop at Lambeth, where others were present. They discoursed much on the great prejudice and disturbance to the state, which would ensue, if the new oaths which were now

* See Kennett's History, iii. 524. Evelyn, in his Diary, gives a somewhat different account, by stating that the Archbishop excused himself from attending at the coronation; which expression implies that the offer was made to him. It should be mentioned, that the MS. copy of the coronation service prepared for this occasion, and approved under the sign manual of the king and queen, now exists in the king's possession; and in this the person supposed to be officiating is "William Lord Archbishop of Canterbury."

† Evelyn's Memoirs, v. ii. p. 10.

in agitation should be extended beyond those who entered on new offices, and should be imposed either on persons who held no office, or on those who, having been long in office, and having therefore sworn fidelity to one government, would probably be scrupulous in binding themselves by a similar oath to another. He says, that they all knew this to be the case of the Archbishop, and of some other persons, who were not satisfied with the resolutions of the Convention, declaring the throne to be vacant by James's abdication.

However, it seems quite impossible, that the new government, with a just view to its own security, could have abstained from requiring the oath of allegiance from all who held offices under it, civil or ecclesiastical. The act* which enjoined the oath to William and Mary to be taken by all public functionaries, and annexing penalties to the refusal, passed on the 24th of April. It allowed greater indulgence to persons holding ecclesiastical offices than to others; for whereas it required all persons holding civil or military appointments, to take the oath before the 1st of the ensuing August, under pain of immediate deprivation, it enacted that those who held ecclesiastical offices should, on their

* See 1 Will. & Mary, Ch. VIII.

refusal, be suspended only on the 1st of August, and should be saved from absolute deprivation, if they qualified themselves by taking the oath within six months from that time. It allowed also to the king* the power of reserving during his pleasure to any twelve ecclesiastical persons refusing the oath whom he should think fit, any sum not exceeding one-third part of the revenue of their benefices, after their deprivation.

The case of all the prelates, and others, who scrupled respecting the new oath, excited much commiseration with the greater part of the nation. It was peculiarly matter of deep regret with all, that one so respected for his public and private virtues as Archbishop Sancroft, and so endeared to the whole nation by his firmness and by his sufferings in a cause which was peculiarly their own, should now be in danger of being deprived of that station which he had filled with so much credit and advantage to the church and to himself. But, besides the general character of these prelates, the very scruples which they now felt, and under which they acted, presented a strong additional claim for respect with all considerate persons, even amongst those who were most

* See 1 Will. & Mary, Ch. VIII. 16.

opposed to the line of conduct which they took. So solemn and so sacred is the obligation of an oath in the judgment of every reflecting mind, that errors committed on the side of a scrupulous adherence to it must ever be honoured and respected by the wise and good. In many cases where human conduct is to be judged of, there is room for difference of opinion respecting the motives which are at work; and in the generality of cases where motives of the highest nature are in action, they are mixed with others of a less elevated character. But such cannot have been the case in the instance of Archbishop Sancroft, and those who took the part which he did: here all personal and worldly considerations, even their views and feelings on the great questions of the church and state which were concerned, tended to sway them in a direction opposite to that which they took; and the motive, which overpowered all these considerations usually so strong, could only be of the highest and the holiest character,—a sincere, unmixed, conscientious regard to the oath they had taken, a feeling of the sinfulness of violating it, and a firm resolution to adhere to it, in spite of the worst worldly consequences that might befall them.

As far as relates to Archbishop Sancroft, the strong assertions which he made towards the

close of his life of the conscientious feeling under which he acted, must prove most fully, if proof could be desired, that this feeling, and no other, influenced his conduct. One anecdote* is related of him about the time of his first refusing the oath, tending to the same point. A M. Dubordieu, minister of the French church in the Savoy, went to take leave of him on his going to Piedmont. His grace told him that he did not doubt that the foreign Protestants would blame his conduct; but he declared that before he took that step, he had foreseen every thing that could be said, and even the injury which the part he took might do to the Protestant cause; and that he was greatly concerned, and had fasted and prayed; but that, at last, his conscience would not suffer him to act otherwise than he had done. The consequences to his worldly fortunes of the part which he took seem to have affected his mind very little. To a person discoursing with him on this subject, he said, with a smile on his countenance, "Well, I can live on £50 a year," meaning his paternal inheritance.†

Under this general feeling of regret for the circumstances under which the prelates who

* Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 163.

† See Letter from Suffolk, &c.

refused the oath were placed, it will naturally be supposed that various expedients were proposed, for the purpose of saving them from the penalty of deprivation. Several members* of both houses of parliament took frequent opportunities of expressing their concern for them. Amongst other plans, it was suggested in the House of Lords, that, instead of requiring the prelates and other clergy to take the oaths, the king might be empowered to tender them at his pleasure; and that only on their refusal, after the oaths were tendered, the penalty of deprivation should attach. It was thought that this power allowed to the king would prove an effectual restraint upon the clergy, and prevent their engaging in any measures hostile to the government; whereas, by actual deprivation, or the certain prospect of incurring it, they might be driven to maintain an intercourse with the partizans of the abdicated monarch, which would cause difficulty to the government. In opposition to this it was urged, that to leave the king to determine from what individuals the oath should be required, would be to throw upon him a very difficult and invidious task; and that, on ge-

* See Burnet's Own Times, v. ii. p. 8, 9: and Life of Kettlewell, p. 265.

neral principles of policy, it is unwise and unsafe to confide offices in a state to persons who acknowledge allegiance to any other than the lawful head of the government. It was afterwards proposed, that an exception should be allowed of twelve of the clergy from whom the oaths should not be required without the king's express direction. But this proposition also was rejected.

Thus, the determination of the prelates remaining unchanged, the provisions of the act were suffered to take effect: Archbishop Sancroft was suspended* from his office on the 1st of August, 1689, and deprived on the 1st of February following, 16⁸⁹/₉₀. There were deprived together with him five bishops,† Lloyd of Nor-

* A short time before his suspension and deprivation, Archbishop Sancroft gave an imprimatur with his own signature for the publication of Bishop Overall's Convocation Book; and his portrait was placed at the beginning, which seems to prove that he gave his immediate sanction to the publication. The imprimatur bears date June 24th, 1689. A writer, supposed to be Bishop Burnet, (see a periodical work, called *Mercurius Reformatus*, v. iii. No. 19) says that this was one of the last acts of his authority, and that his print was placed in the front to help the credit and sale of the book; that he intended the book to support his high government and church notions; but that he "forgot some passages in it, which make point blank against his own party."

† Of these deprived bishops, three lived some way into the

wich, Turner of Ely, Frampton of Gloucester, White of Peterborough, and Kenn* of Bath and Wells; and about four hundred† of the clergy of different degrees, in the two universities, and in the several dioceses of the kingdom.

Under all the circumstances of the case, it seems impossible that the government of that day could have adopted with discretion any other course. Had Archbishop Sancroft stood single in the question, there can be little doubt that, from the general respect borne towards him by all ranks of people, and the personal goodwill of the king, some method would have been devised of suffering him to preserve during the probably short remains of his life, if not the jurisdiction, at least the exterior rank and emolument attached to the arch-

succeeding century. Bishop Lloyd died in January, 1708, Bishop Kenn in 1710, and Bishop Frampton in 1718. The two remaining died earlier; Bishop White in 1698, and Bishop Turner in 1700.

* On the accession of Queen Anne to the crown in 1702, a proposal was made, through the interest of Lord Weymouth, for the restoration of Bishop Kenn to the see of Bath and Wells. It was proposed that a vacancy should be made, by the translation of Bishop Kidder, who then held it, to Carlisle. Bishop Kidder gave his consent; but, when every thing was ready, Dr. Kenn refused to accept the see, on taking a new exception to the oath of abjuration.—Kennett's MSS. Collect. v. i. p. 935.

† See Appendix to Life of Kettlewell, No. VI.

bishopric. But, as the matter really stood, it would have been very invidious to grant him an indulgence which was denied to others under the same circumstances; while a similar indulgence to all who refused the oaths would have introduced much confusion, and would have given strength and influence to the nonjuring party, to a degree which might have proved highly inconvenient.

Still, though the Archbishop was deprived of his ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction, he was treated with all the tenderness and forbearance due to his character and situation. He was not disturbed in his residence at Lambeth Palace, nor immediately deprived of the revenues of the see; with the view also of further consulting his feelings, possibly too of allowing him the benefit of an alteration in his decision respecting the oath, in case time for further reflection should have the effect of producing such a change, the jurisdiction of the see was for some time placed in commission, and no successor appointed.

After his suspension, and for some time subsequent to his deprivation, he maintained at Lambeth Palace the same attendance and splendour of establishment which he had formerly done; and during the whole of this period, he constantly received visits from the

nobility and others with whom he had before lived in habits of intercourse, and was treated with marks of respect by persons of every rank. It is stated too,* that, as long as he continued here, he sought, by all the means of gentleness and meekness, to prevent, if possible, a schism in the church; and this induced him readily to accept the ministry of his chaplains, even after they had taken the oath to the government, so long as they were willing to communicate with him, and to officiate according to their usual custom.

In the course of the year 1690, the great struggle of the abdicated king for the recovery of his crown took place, which concluded with the battle of the Boyne; and various schemes and arts were devised by the Jacobite party in England for assisting his cause. Amongst other contrivances of that party was the following. A day of solemn humiliation being appointed by the government, and a form of public prayer prepared for the occasion, the Jacobites also prepared a form of prayer in favour of King James, and distributed many thousand copies of it through the kingdom. Archbishop Sancroft and the non-juring bishops were immediately suspected of

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 408.

being concerned in this transaction; but, as there was never produced the slightest ground for the suspicion, it is impossible to believe for a moment that, whatever their private feelings may have been, they would have had recourse to such an improper expedient. Some persons however even proceeded so far as to conjecture that they discovered in the Jacobite prayers the same hand which had been employed in composing the public occasional prayers under the authority of King James at the time of the Prince of Orange's invasion; meaning, no doubt, the hand of the Archbishop himself. In addition to this, at this period of political ferment, the deprived bishops were publicly charged, in various pamphlets of the day, with being the authors and abettors of England's miseries: with contriving and carrying on, especially in the meetings at Lambeth Palace, the ruin of their country; with maintaining a communication with France, for the purpose of inviting a foreign invasion, and thereby endeavouring to subvert the Protestant church. In one particular work, entitled, "A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters," besides many other heavy accusations, the circulation of the Jacobite prayers was directly charged upon the nonjuring bishops, as a synodical act.

For some time, the Archbishop and his brethren deemed it best to treat these calumnies with the contempt they deserved; but, at last, when they found their characters traduced in the grossest manner, and when they felt that, as at a time of public alarm and confusion, even their persons were exposed to some danger from the passions of the multitude inflamed by these falsehoods, they thought that it no longer became them to remain silent. Accordingly, they drew up and published a regular protestation of their innocence. It was entitled "A Vindication of the Archbishop and several other Bishops from the Imputations and Calumnies cast upon them by the Author of the Modest Enquiry," and was expressed as follows.*

"Whereas, in a late pamphlet, entitled, 'A Modest Enquiry into the Causes of the present Disasters, &c.' we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, are among others represented as the authors and abettors of England's miseries; and, under the abusive names of the Lambeth Holy Club, the Holy Jacobite Club, and the Œconomick Council of the whole Party, are charged with a third plot, and with the composing of a new liturgy and using it in our

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 260.

cabals; and whereas the clergy, such of them as are styled malcontents, are said (together with others) to have presented a memorial to the King of France, to persuade him to invade England; and are also affirmed to have kept a constant correspondence with M. de Croissy in order thereunto:

“ We do here solemnly, as in the presence of God, protest and declare,

“ I. That these accusations cast upon us are all of them malicious calumnies, and diabolical inventions; that we are innocent of them all; and we defy the libeller, whoever he be, to produce, if he can, any legal proof of our guiltiness therein.

“ II. That we know not who was the author of the new liturgy, as the libel calls it; that we had no hand in it, either in the club, cabal, or otherwise; nor was it composed or published by our order, consent, or privity; nor hath it been used at any time by us or any of us.

“ III. That neither we, nor any of us, ever held any correspondence, directly or indirectly, with M. de Croissy, or with any minister or agent of France: and, if any such memorial, as the libel mentions, was ever really presented to the French king, we never knew any thing of it, nor any thing relating thereto. And we do utterly renounce both that, and all other invi-

tations suggested to be made by us, in order to any invasion of this kingdom by the French.

“ IV. That we utterly deny and disavow all plots charged upon us, or contrived, or carried on, in our meetings at Lambeth; the intent thereof being to advise how, in our present difficulties, we might best keep consciences void of offence towards God and towards men.

“ V. That we are so far from being the authors or abettors of England's miseries, (whatever the spirit of lying and calumny may vent against us,) that we do, and shall to our dying hour, heartily and incessantly pray for the peace, prosperity and glory of England; and shall always, by God's grace, make it our daily practice to study to be quiet, to bear our cross patiently, and to seek the good of our native country.

“ Who the author of this libel is, we know not: but, whoever he is, we desire, as our Lord hath taught us, to return him good for evil: He barbarously endeavours to raise in the whole English nation such a fury, as may end in *Dewitting* us (a bloody word, but too well understood). But we recommend him to the Divine mercy, humbly beseeching God to forgive him.

“ We have all of us, not long since, either actually, or in full preparation of mind, hazarded all we had in the world in opposing Popery and

arbitrary power in England: and we shall, by God's grace, with greater zeal again sacrifice all we have, and our very lives too, if God shall be pleased to call us thereto, to prevent Popery, and the arbitrary power of France, from coming upon us, and prevailing over us; the persecution of our Protestant brethren there being still fresh in our memories.

“ It is our great unhappiness that we have not opportunity to publish full and particular answers to those many libels, which are industriously spread against us. But we hope that our country will never be moved to hate us without a cause, but will be so just and charitable to us, as to believe this solemn protestation of our innocency.

	(Signed) “ W. CANT.
	“ W. NORWICH,
“ Printed in the	“ FR. ELY,
year 1690.	“ THO. BATH & WELLS,
	“ THO. PETRIBURGH.”

It must be needless to say that, after this strong protestation of their innocence as to the charges here referred to, there cannot remain the slightest suspicion that any of them deserved the imputations which appear to have been so industriously cast upon them.

After the defeat of the attempt to restore the

abdicated king in 1690, when the government of King William was fixed on a firmer footing, another overture* was made to the Archbishop and his brethren, who, though at this time deprived of their jurisdiction, were in possession of the temporalities of their sees, in order to try whether any method could be devised of preventing their final ejection,—a circumstance which strongly evinces the good will borne towards them by the governing powers. Bishop Burnet states, that the queen directed him to convey a message to the Earl of Rochester and Sir John Trevor, who were known to be on terms of confidence with the prelates, to try whether, in case an act of parliament could be obtained, excusing them from taking the oaths, they would be willing to perform their functions as formerly in ordinations, institutions, and confirmations, and to assist at public wor-

* Bishop Burnet, in his pamphlet before referred to, entitled "Reflexions," &c. p. 102. says, that this overture was made to the bishops in the summer of 1690, after the battle of the Boyne. In his "Own Times," he speaks of a transaction, manifestly the same, as occurring in the December of the same year. It may be mentioned, as a proof of Burnet's extreme readiness to insinuate blame against the nonjuring bishops, that he finds fault with them for neglecting the concerns of their churches subsequently to their deprivation. Had he recollected that, after their deprivation, they had no power to exercise any episcopal functions, he would surely have refrained from making this remark.—See Burnet's Own Times, v. ii. p. 71.

ship. Burnet states that no answer could be obtained to this proposal, and that all they were willing to promise, was that they would live quietly; which he malignantly interprets to mean, that they would keep themselves close till a proper time should encourage them to act more openly.

As we only know of this negotiation from the partial authority of Bishop Burnet, we cannot ascertain on what ground it was really frustrated. It should be observed, however, that even if the oath of allegiance to King William had been dispensed with, the fact of their being required to assist at public worship, would have probably proved a bar to their acceptance of the terms. For the public offices of the church referred to William and Mary as the lawful sovereigns of the realm; and it does not seem possible that those who acknowledged another as their lawful sovereign, could have consented to assist in performing these offices.

Indeed, it is certain that, in reference to the latter subject, the Archbishop's feelings were so strong, that he deemed it unlawful even to attend at the public service, when prayer was offered up for King William and Queen Mary. On one occasion,* some of the nonjurors waited on

* This is given from an original MS. account, now in private

him, requesting to know his opinion as to the lawfulness of those who did not acknowledge the new sovereigns attending at the public service when prayer was offered up for them. He was cautious at first of giving them an answer: but, having ascertained that they were really desirous of being satisfied on this point, he told them, that certainly they ought not to go to the public service; but should get what other opportunities they could of joining in religious worship. On another occasion, several of the principal nonjurors having attended the service in the chapel at Lambeth Palace, one of them again asked his opinion as to the point of their attending the public service of the church. He immediately gave this decisive answer: that, if they did, they would need the absolution at the end, as well as at the beginning of the service.*

hands, written by one of the nonjurors who waited on Archbishop Sancroft.

* It is remarkable that the two Archbishops, Sancroft and Tillotson, opposed as they were on the subject of acknowledging the new government, agreed in opinion as to this point. On Mr. Nelson's consulting Archbishop Tillotson respecting the practice of the nonjurors' attending the public service, he answered, "As to the case you put, I wonder men should be divided in opinion about it. I think it plain that no man can join in prayers, in which there is any petition, which he is verily persuaded is sinful. I cannot endure a trick anywhere, much less in religion."—Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 282.

Still so great was the general unwillingness to carry severe measures into effect against the deprived bishops, that further attempts* were made in parliament by their friends to procure some mitigation of the penalties in their favour. It was urged that some explanation of the depriving act might be contrived, in a manner consistent with the honour and the safety of the government; that either a dispensation might be allowed to those who held bishoprics and ecclesiastical benefices to continue in them some time longer, subject to their peaceable demeanour towards the government; or else that, in the event of their being deprived, a certain portion of the revenues might be continued to them. Nothing however was effected; probably on account of the difficulty of separating the case of a few individuals from that of the great body of the nonjurors. In regard to the latter point, that of reserving to the deprived bishops a portion of the revenue, there is one circumstance which it is not easy to explain. It has been mentioned, that the statute, which enacted the penalties of suspension and deprivation, allowed the king the power of continuing to any twelve ecclesiastical persons one-third of the revenue of their benefices. We perceive

* Life of Kettlewell, p. 279.

no trace of his having ever availed himself of this power, towards any of the prelates, although the reluctance which he showed to supersede them might lead us to suppose that he would most gladly have made use of it.

Archbishop Sancroft continued to maintain the hospitalities of Lambeth Palace till August, 1690, about six months after he had been deprived of the archiepiscopal authority. At that time he dismissed many of his attendants, and contracted his scale of expenditure. The full emoluments of the see appear to have been continued to him till Michaelmas in this year. Still the king suffered some time to elapse before he filled up this and the other sees. It appears that he destined Dr. Tillotson for the primacy almost as soon as the vacancy was foreseen by Archbishop Sancroft's refusal to take the oaths. Dr. Tillotson, in a letter, dated April 19th, 1689,* mentions that the king had intimated to him his intention of appointing him to the situation, and expresses great perplexity of mind, in consequence of this intimation. In another letter, written in September in the same year, he says, that the king again pressed the subject upon him with great earnestness of persuasion; and he expresses the

* Birch's Life of Tillotson, p. 223.

hope that something might occur to prevent the appointment. In this state the matter remained for more than a year; the king being probably unwilling to disturb Archbishop Sancroft, and the friends of that prelate being in hopes that some expedient might be devised, by which his final expulsion might be prevented. At last, in October, 1690,* the king again pressed the situation upon Dr. Tillotson, and told him that, if he refused, he knew not what he should do. Dr. Tillotson now consented to accept it; but begged, at the same time, that the nomination might for some time be kept a secret; he also particularly requested that he might not be represented to the world as driving out the present Archbishop, and that his Majesty would declare in council that, since his forbearance had produced no good effects, he would fill up the vacant situations. Still, nothing was done till the return of the king from Flanders in 1691. Bishop Burnet states,† that it was in consequence of correspondences being discovered between the abdicated king and the nonjurors, in which some of the deprived bishops‡ were concerned, that he at last

* See Birch's *Life of Tillotson*, p. 247.

† See Burnet's "*Reflexions, &c.*" p. 102.

‡ Dr. Turner, the deprived Bishop of Ely, was the person principally suspected, and probably with great reason, of holding

resolved to fill the vacant sees. As soon as Dr. Tillotson's appointment was declared, he waited on Archbishop Sancroft* at Lambeth Palace, and endeavoured to see him by sending his name several times by a servant, and waiting for an answer. At last, he was obliged to come away without succeeding in his purpose. Dr. Tillotson's public nomination to the primacy took place April 23d, 1691; his *congé d'elire* passed May 1st, and he was confirmed May 28th.†

Still Archbishop Sancroft kept possession of Lambeth Palace, and evinced no disposition immediately to quit it. One of his friends, Mr. Evelyn, mentions‡ that he paid him a visit there more than a fortnight after the appointment of

correspondence with the abdicated king at this time. It is said that, among Lord Preston's Papers were found letters written by him to King James and his queen. On this discovery he fled, and a proclamation for his apprehension, as also for that of two other persons, was issued February 5th, 1690. Bishop Turner survived the Revolution about ten years.—See Kennett's MSS. Collect. v. i. 935.

* See Wharton's MSS. Collectanea on Tillotson, in Lambeth Library.

† Mr. Wharton, in MSS. Collectanea, states, that Archbishop Tillotson received the profits of the see from Michaelmas, 1690; and that the arrears at the time of his appointment amounted to £2500.

‡ See Evelyn's Diary, v. ii. p. 25.

his successor, May 7th, and that he found the house indeed disfurnished, and the books packing up; but, on his asking his grace when he removed, he answered he had not yet received any summons. He found him, he says, alone, and discoursing of the times, especially of the new designed bishops: he told him, that they could not justify by any canon or divine law the removing of the present incumbents. One of the intended bishops, Dr. Beveridge, designed for the see of Bath and Wells, his Grace said, had been with him to ask his advice. He told him that though he should give the advice, he believed he would not follow it. The Doctor said he would. "Why then," replied the Archbishop, "when they come to ask, say nolo, and say it from the heart: nothing is easier than to resolve yourself what is to be done in the case." "The Doctor," the Archbishop added, "seemed to deliberate on this advice."*

* Dr. Beveridge, then Archdeacon of Colchester, and Canon of Canterbury, was nominated April 23d, 1691, to the bishopric of Bath and Wells. He took three weeks to consider of it, during which time, Bishop Kenn, though deprived, exercised all the episcopal functions, preaching and confirming in all parts of the diocese. See Kennett's MSS. Collections, v. i. 935. Mr. Wharton says (see Wharton's Collectan. under Kenn) that at one time he absolutely declined it; and that the whole delay caused much displeasure at court.

Hitherto, since his suspension and deprivation, he had been regularly attended by his chaplains, Mr. Needham and Mr. Wharton. Upon the first sacrament which was administered in his chapel after his see was filled, the consecration of the elements was performed by his grace himself; one nonjuror reading the prayers, and another preaching before him, when his chaplains being present, though they did not officiate, did however communicate. Soon after, being aware that he must soon retire from the palace, he thought it just to them to retain their services no longer. Accordingly, one day,* calling them into his chamber, he thanked them for their faithful services, and told them that he now thought the time was come when they must part. Upon this Mr. Needham replied, that he was sincerely glad if their services had been acceptable to his Grace; and, if there were not too much presumption in the question, he begged his Grace would inform them why he thought that a proper time for them to part. The Archbishop answered, that as affairs then stood, it might carry an invidious appearance, and might be dangerous for them, that they should serve him any longer. To this Mr. Needham made answer, that, though he differed from his Grace in opinion concerning

* See Wharton's MSS.

public matters in the state, yet as to personal duties in attending his Grace, he feared no dangers that might happen to him at any time or place; and he believed his brother Wharton was of the same opinion. On Mr. Wharton agreeing to this, the venerable Archbishop, with vivacity in his looks, replied, "Will you so? then go on in God's name."

This anecdote is highly creditable to the feelings of both parties concerned. His chaplains not only remained with him till he quitted Lambeth, but showed the warmest attachment to him, and paid him every attention, till the hour of his death.

At last, on the 20th of May, the Archbishop received an order from the queen to quit the palace within ten days. It is stated by Mr. Wharton,* that he took great offence at this peremptory order, and, in consequence of what he deemed unkind treatment, determined not to stir till he was forced by law. It is added, on the same authority, that, up to this period, he had intended to leave his books to the library at Lambeth Palace, and with this view had placed them there: but, immediately on receiving this order, he changed his intention, and determined to take them away.

* Wharton's Collectanea.

From the present conduct of this venerable prelate, we certainly cannot acquit him of some temporary fractiousness of temper; for which, however, at his advanced period of life, and under the pressure of chagrin and disappointment at seeing affairs proceed in a course which he so much disapproved, great allowance is to be made. Probably, every impartial person will think that as much tenderness had been shown to him, and to the other prelates, as could reasonably be expected, in the indulgence which had been allowed to them of ample time to re-consider their determination, and in the permission to retain, so long after their deprivation, possession of the episcopal residences. It may be conjectured, although it cannot be proved from any thing which he has left, that the Archbishop had privately cherished the expectation, till the actual appointment of a successor, that, although he was deprived of the archiepiscopal authority, matters would not be carried to the extremity of forcing him to quit the see; and, therefore, when the successor was actually appointed, and the appointment was followed by an order to retire from the residence, a feeling of disappointment, and a notion that he was harshly treated, got, for the time, possession of his mind, and disturbed its usual serenity. It must be superfluous to say, that no

rational motive can be assigned for his determining to be turned out of the palace by legal process, the evil of which must only fall upon himself; or for his depriving the see of the advantage of possessing his library, on account of the ill usage which he conceived he had personally experienced from the government.

The process of ejectment by law was begun without delay. He was cited to appear before the Barons of the Exchequer, on the first day of Trinity Term, June 12th, to answer a writ of intrusion brought against him in the king's name by the Attorney General, in which he was accused of having entered *vi et armis* into Lambeth House, (part of the king's possessions in the vacancy of the see,) on the 1st of April, 1690, and forcibly taken and held possession of it. He appeared by his attorney several times, but always cautiously avoided putting in any plea, in which the name of the king or queen was mentioned, or their title acknowledged. On Tuesday, June 23d, the Attorney General moved for judgment: the Archbishop's counsel pleaded that, according to the rules of the court, imparlance ought to be allowed till next term; the judges overruled the plea, and ordered judgment to pass, unless the counsel for the defendant consented to join issue on the same

day. This they refused to do, and, in consequence, judgment passed.

On the evening of the same day, between seven and eight o'clock, the Archbishop retired from Lambeth Palace in the most private manner; attended by the steward of his household, (who was his nephew, Mr. Sancroft,) Dr. Paman, Mr. Nicholls and Mr. Jacob. He did not even send for his chaplains previous to his departure, or give them the slightest intimation of his intention. He took boat at Lambeth bridge (or ferry), and went to a private house in Palsgrave Court, in the Temple. On the following day, the servants of his establishment were dismissed by the steward with much kindness, their wages being paid in advance till the following Michaelmas. A donation of alms was made to the poor of the parish, and a present sent to the curate. On the following Saturday, the Attorney General sent a messenger to take possession of the house: but the steward refused possession, alleging his orders to deliver it to none but the legal officer. The messenger returned in about an hour with the under sheriff, and possession was then delivered with great civility; but the person of the steward was attached, and he was carried to the Marshalsea prison, although bail to the amount of £10,000 was offered for his liberty: in addition

to which, a fine of £200 was imposed upon him. It is stated that he was kept there with the design of inducing the Archbishop to write to the other deprived bishops, to persuade them to give up quiet possession of their episcopal houses; but this, Mr. Wharton adds, the Archbishop scorned to do. After ten day's confinement, the steward was released, upon bail of £100. Soon afterwards, Archbishop Tillotson sent him a message, to tell him that he need not be troubled about the fine, for care should be taken that it should not be demanded. To this Mr. Sancroft replied, that it must be paid, for his uncle the Archbishop had so ordered it.*

The next morning, the chaplains of the deprived Archbishop, Mr. Needham and Mr. Wharton, having discovered the place of his retreat, came to wait on him. He received them with extraordinary kindness, and caused them to celebrate divine service before him according to the offices of the day. They continued to officiate there daily for some time, Mr. Needham going constantly to read prayers every morning at seven o'clock; till, company and business breaking frequently in upon him, he told him, that his time not being his own, he must be content to read prayers for himself.

* See Lamb. MSS. v. 933. Art. 73.

The Archbishop remained at the house in the Temple for about six weeks, and appears to have received there the visits of his friends in all ranks of life. Amongst others, Thomas, Earl of Aylesbury, called to pay him a visit. The prelate received him at the door of his apartment, which was opened by himself. The Earl, struck with this circumstance as a mark of humiliation, and with the total change of every thing around, from what he had formerly seen in his visits at Lambeth Palace, burst into tears. As soon as he recovered his power of speech, he told him how deeply he was affected with what he saw, and how unable he was to suppress his grief. "O my good lord," replied the Archbishop, "rather rejoice with me, for now I live again."

This pleasing anecdote shows that, if his mind had before been in some degree ruffled and disturbed, it had now perfectly recovered its serene and even tone.

The Archbishop left finally the metropolis on the 3d of August, 1691, and on the 5th arrived at Fresingfield, his native place, which he never afterwards left.

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